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LACONIAN STUDIES

BY

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PREFACE

In 1947 I undertook to give a post-graduate course on Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus. Two years later I had the privilege of working for a few months in Cambridge, and during that happy period I was able to start carrying out a plan that had been in my mind for two years, namely to publish a series of studies on archaic Sparta based on Plutarch's data. My original intention was more ambitious and extended to writing a commentary on the Life of Lycurgus. However, careful examination of the first chapter soon made it clear that the writing of a historical commentary could not very well be undertaken until various fundamental problems had first been dealt with. A perusal of the subsequent chapters only helped to confirm this view. Consequently all the 'Laconian Studies' collected in these pages are closely related to chapters in Plutarch, and their arrangement has been mainly determined by that of Plutarch's work.

The first part is a chronological study starting from the opening chapter of the Life of Lycurgus. I believe it is possible to demonstrate that already in the earliest phase of Greek historiography the struggle for the chronological pattern was carried on with great perseverance. Ed. Meyer and F. Jacoby place practically the whole of this struggle in the Hellenistic Period. Against this I have advanced the theory – I hope successfully – that the struggle belongs to an earlier period, that Aristotle had an important part in it, and that Plutarch follows him more closely than critics like E. Kessler realize. My great respect for scholars of the stature of Meyer and Jacoby has not withheld me from presenting a different opinion on some aspects of their chronological studies or from suggesting supplementary details; their own work proves

that they were not content with *iurare in verba magistri*. Nothing could be more detrimental to scientific research than to mummify or fossilize the achievements of great forerunners.

In the second and third part the connection with the corresponding chapters in Plutarch is obvious. It will suffice to state briefly that the second part deals with an episode in Sparta's constitutional history (*Lyc.* V-VII), and the third with some social customs for most of which Plutarch is our only source (*Lyc.* XIV ff.).

From the studies now presented Plutarch does not emerge unfavourably as a historian. If I am not mistaken, a turn of the tide in this respect is noticeable. For centuries his moralizing historiography was the mental fare for the reading public, but the nineteenth century, on the contrary, weighed these well-meaning discourses and found them wanting. Dislike for his homely ethics during two or three generations hampered any positive appreciation of his historical work. One might answer this criticism with the words of Sir John Myres in his inaugural address (1910): 'History is a science of observation, it is true, but it is also a critical science. Its standard is one of value as well as of relevance, it relates its facts not only to other facts but to the judgment and the service of Man'¹. No one who subscribes to this view, as I do, would venture to blame Plutarch for doing what no other true historian has ever been able to avoid – or been at liberty to avoid – *i.e.* passing moral judgments. Even if we do not agree with Plutarch's ethics, this should not bias our historical appreciation.

To publish a book in a language not one's own is a somewhat hazardous undertaking. If the reader does not encounter instances of unfamiliar style or diction, the credit belongs to the conscientious care and devotion of the translator, Dr A. Fontein (The Hague), and to the unremitting assistance of two friends, A. F. P. Hulsegé (Leyden) and

¹ Now inserted in *Geographical History in Greek Lands*, 1953, especially p. 38.

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A. G. Woodhead (Cambridge). The counsel and suggestions of these three have been warmly appreciated. For *lapsus calami* of any kind I naturally accept full responsibility.

One more point which at first seemed quite a problem in itself concerns the spelling of the Greek proper names. I had innocently believed that I noticed in modern British publications a growing tendency to adopt the phonetic spelling whenever possible. The custom has its followers on the continent also, although I am not one of them. However, I was spared the somewhat painful decision between my own choice and the supposed British and American practice. The recent discussions in British and American periodicals¹ perhaps allow the spelling of the name of the Spartan law-giver *Lycurgus* instead of Lukourgos, Lykourgos, Lykurgos, Lykurgus or Lycurgos. As a rule I have latinized the Greek proper names, and if occasionally I have swerved from the straight path I find consolation in A. H. M. Jones' words: 'Fixed spelling, especially for place names, is a modern fad, and the ancients were quite content to spell a name half a dozen different ways'².

For the hospitality extended to me at Cambridge my sincere thanks are specially due to Sir Frank Adcock and to the Librarian of the University Library. I am also indebted to A. J. Beattie (now of Edinburgh), N. G. L. Hammond and H. Lloyd-Jones for sundry tokens of friendship and for many profitable discussions, which also extended to topics beyond the scope of the present book.

I cannot conclude without adding a final word of grateful acknowledgment to the Netherlands Organization for Pure Research (Z.W.O.) whose financial assistance has made possible the translation and publication of this book.

Leyden, March 1954

W. DEN BOER.

¹ JHS, LXVIII, 1948, p. xix-xxiv; CR, LXVI, 1952, p. 53 f., 195 ff.; AJA, LV, 1951, p. 115; LVI, 1952, p. 116.

² *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 1937, preface.

ABBREVIATIONS

AfR	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJP	American Journal of Philology
Ant. Class.	L'Antiquité Classique
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BSA	Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens
CAF	Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta
CAH	The Cambridge Ancient History
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
CP	Classical Philology
CQ	Classical Quarterly
CR	Classical Review
FGrHist	Fragmenta der griechischen Historiker
FHG	Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum
GGR	M. P. Nilsson, Geschichte der griechischen Religion
Harv. Theol. Rev.	Harvard Theological Review
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae, ed. I (vol. V, 1 Inscriptiones Laconiae et Messeniae)
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
L-S*	Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon. 9th edition by Stuart Jones-McKenzie
Mnem.	Mnemosyne
Mus. Helv.	Museum Helveticum
Num. Chron.	Numismatic Chronicle
OCD	Oxford Classical Dictionary
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
Philol.	Philologus
Rev. de Phil.	Revue de philologie
P-W	Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
REA	Revue des études anciennes
REG	Revue des études grecques
RGG	Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart
RM	Rheinisches Museum
RVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
SIG	Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum
TAPA	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association
Vig. Chr.	Vigiliae Christianae

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PART ONE
THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CHRONOLOGICAL
PATTERN

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

In many works dealing, directly or indirectly, with chronology the following distinction is customary¹.

From the IVth century onwards the Greeks reckoned by Olympiads. Local events continued to be dated in accordance with the annual magistrates, as they had been previously. For earlier events historians had to resort to the traditional genealogies. The two earliest attempts at a comprehensive chronology are embodied in the *Marmor Parium* (264/3) and in Eratosthenes' work. Their results do not differ greatly. The fall of Troy for instance according to the *Marmor Parium* is dated at 1209 B.C., whilst Eratosthenes puts it 1183 B.C. It is, in particular, archaeology which has enabled us to make a new approach to the problems of chronology. (Greek pre-history as early as the second millennium can already be synchronized with the Egyptian annals which are dated astronomically by the Egyptian solar calendar).

Archaeology, it is true, has put a stop to a great deal of academical scepticism with regard to ancient datings², but it has not yet altered the history of Greek chronology. This is not surprising, as we must look to historians to make a change, based on their re-appreciation of the material. This re-appreciation entails the digestion of archaeological achievement. Much useful spadework was done by A. Blakeway, whose untimely death meant a grievous loss to the world of scholarship, but his work could not bring about a revision

¹ For the following cf. G. Thomson, *Studies in ancient Greek society*, I, 1949, p. 370, in which the author contrary to his usual practice adheres to current opinion.

² Admittedly, it has also encouraged the credulity of many, witness the examples cited by J. B. Bury in CAH, II, p. 478, and by J. L. Myres in *Who were the Greeks?*, p. 340-6: Heracles, Minos, Jason and Theseus are considered to be historical figures.

of the time-worn views on the development of chronology in Greek historiography¹.

The following chapters do not aim at such a revision. The more limited problem to be examined is this: is the sketch out-lined above true? Is it correct to say that the Olympic chronology dates from the fourth century and that previously two systems were current, *viz.* genealogy and chronology according to lists of magistrates? Is it true that the latter were purely local and that genealogical chronology applied to earlier periods before such lists were kept? If so, how far exactly did these 'earlier times' extend? Were there ever attempts to bring these chronologies into harmony?

For an answer to these questions we shall have to find a starting point in our historical tradition, which connects the earliest data on Greek chronology with genealogy. From the historical point of view this seems to be the appropriate place at which to begin our inquiry.

¹ Especially *Prolegomena to the study of Greek commerce with Italy, Sicily and France in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.*, BSA, XXXIII, 1932-3, p. 170-208; and *Demaratus, a study of the earliest Hellenisation of Latium and Etruria*, JRS, XXV, 1935, p. 129-149.

CHAPTER I

GENEALOGICAL CHRONOLOGY

§ 1. INTRODUCTION

The history of genealogical chronology may be traced fairly accurately as a result of the studies by Eduard Meyer and Felix Jacoby which, even after more modern investigations, still rank first. Plutarch's brief outline in *Lyc.* I is confirmed by these researches. Some of the results obtained may be recalled here.

The dating of Lycurgus by Hellenistic historiography is bound up with the dating of the Spartan kings, as is only natural in the case of a figure whom tradition linked with the legal organization of the Spartan community. Eratosthenes and Apollodorus take for Lycurgus' epoch the first year of Charilaus, Lycurgus' ward. The customary dating of this king follows a chronological plan starting from Heracles and the Trojan war. Converted into terms of our own calendar we obtain the following dates:

1184/83 Fall of Troy.

1103/02 Eurysthenes and Procles become kings of Sparta, the former the founder of the royal house of the Agiads, the latter of that of the Euryponids. The Return of the Heraclids heralds this reign (1104/03).

885/4 Lycurgus' activity as legislator.

The last mentioned date is connected with a calculation of the regnal years of the Spartan kings by Apollodorus and handed down by Eusebius¹.

In the chronological system of Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, apart from the years mentioned, the year of the insti-

¹ *Chron.* I, 221 ff. Sch. Cf. Jacoby, *Apollodorus Chronik*, p. 81 ff.

tution of the Olympic games is of supreme importance – 777/6, the traditional first year of the reckoning by Olympiads. It is no mere accident that Plutarch (*Lyc.* 1) referring to the dating of Lycurgus by Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, also uses this important date. Lycurgus, so he says, was οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἔτεσι προσβύτερος τῆς πρώτης ὀλυμπιάδος. According to the calculation by Eratosthenes and Apollodorus Lycurgus took up his duties as guardian over Charilaus 108 years before the first Olympiad. For further particulars I may refer to Jacoby's *Apollodorus Chronik*.

§ 2. SIMONIDES

It is not known who first applied the lists of Spartan kings to a scheme which had a wider purpose than that of offering merely a local catalogue of kings. For a long time, on the authority of Meyer, this novelty has been fathered on Hecataeus, Meyer's followers taking the master's conjecture for established fact. Jacoby hints at Hellanicus or a later figure¹, but his former supposition seems improbable, as Hellanicus' work belongs to the period after Simonides' death in 468. According to Plutarch's summary of the chronological differences the poet Simonides² belongs to those who, like Apollodorus, included Lycurgus in the genealogy of the Eurypontids. Apart from this tradition there was another one, probably of later date, attributing to Lycurgus a place in the royal house of the Agiads (cf. Herodotus, p. 12). Simonides is an older contemporary (556–468) of Hecataeus, which allows the possibility that he was acquainted with the latter's chronology. On the other hand, we might equally well assume that Simonides

¹ *Atthis*, p. 306, note 25.

² There is no justification for substituting here a genealogist of the same name of whom nothing further is known. Cf. Jacoby, *Apollodorus Chronik*, p. 108 ff., particularly p. 110, where the author rightly remarks: "der genealoge Simonides ist überhaupt eine fragwürdige erscheinung" (n. 9).

follows a tradition which existed independently of the genealogical and historical tradition and which might have been of a poetical origin. These two traditions, the poetic and the historical, need not have been necessarily distinct at the outset. The following evolution is probable: the oral tradition had transmitted genealogies which differed considerably. They contained personifications such as Eunomus and Prytanis. One of these was reflected in Simonides' work, another served as a base for drafting a genealogical table of kings to provide an aid to chronology. The different purposes permitted a difference in the drafting of the lists, but the variations did not have the effect of turning Lycurgus – who according to the oldest tradition belonged to the house of the Eurypontids – into an Agiad¹.

§ 3. CHARACTERISTICS

Our first survey has already revealed two features of the reckoning of time by genealogies.

I. Those who employ it, if they wish to recommend and to apply it as a useful frame for the description of events outside the local interests of the community for which this genealogy has any value, place it on a supra-local footing. This has been accomplished by combining the genealogy with other events such as the fall of Troy, the return of the Heraclids, the first Olympiad. If the link between a local catalogue of kings on the one hand and of events supposed to belong to a remote past on the other, is to have any meaning, then the list of kings should reach back to this past, and if it proves inadequate one is bound to supplement it with fictitious kings. Even the most unsuspicious of modern historians (a title of doubtful honour I would bestow on Kroymann) does not go the length of regarding the oldest parts of the Spartan list of kings as authentic².

¹ See further p. 12.

² As far as I can see, the contrasts among the students of ancient

II. The second feature partly arises from the first. Dating regnal years attributed to fictitious kings is obviously meaningless. But even if we should accept a figure as historical, dating is hampered by the generally oral tradition which evidently did not preserve the number of regnal years. The most striking example is the Eurypontid Theopompus¹ whose existence is mentioned by Tyrtaeus (frag. 4, 1 D). We have no information about him which might enable us to date his reign. The Hellenistic chronographers, realizing this, took it upon themselves to fix the term of office of the kings, Eurysthenes 42 years, Procles 41 years; whilst the successors in the list were also allotted a number of years. Occasionally the term of office was not fixed at random but depended on synchronisms established by tradition. For Theopompus, for instance, this synchronism was derived from his part in the Messenian war mentioned by Tyrtaeus. As the chronology of this war was also arrived at by a different way, *i.e.* by means of the List of Olympic Victors which after the year 736 does not include Messenians, the chronicler in this case had no option, unless he ignored the synchronism or deemed it incorrect. But in any case the terms of office of the kings were, for the most

history with regard to the genealogical time-reckoning applied by the ancients themselves are greater than ever. Moreover, many are inconsistent and have lapsed from positive appreciation into scepticism, witness Jacoby in the matter of the lists of the ephors and Olympionikai (*Attis*, p. 305, note 24, and p. 353, note 3).

From Miss Chrimes to Lenschau and Schwartz the road leads from artless acceptance to complete rejection.

Halfway we find mere descriptions like Prakken's. This scholar combines an important positive appreciation with explanations which are of little importance, being mainly a repetition of previous research.

The scale from acceptance down to rejection as far as modern scholars are concerned is as follows:

I. Chrimes, Kroymann – II. Bengtson, Prakken – III. Jacoby, Ehrenberg – IV. Lenschau, Burn.

¹ Cf. p. 65 ff.

part, not just fixed at random, the available data being arranged systematically.

Lycurgus' chronology has similar features. The second of them, relating to the life story of the person to be dated, is of minor importance as Lycurgus was not a king but guardian over his nephew. Apollodorus has the following data:

953/2 birth of Lycurgus

914/3 ἀκμή of Lycurgus

885/4 Lycurgus enters upon his work as legislator

868/7 ? death of Lycurgus¹.

When he became a guardian he had entered on his 68th year. The guardianship lasted eighteen years terminating when he reached the age of 85. The journeys he made as a legislator took place prior to the guardianship. During these journeys he met Homer whose death in this chronological system is dated in 914/3². The striking synchronism is the ἀκμή of Lycurgus coinciding with Homer's death. The latter date is the only one used independent of the list of kings. The list itself, however, influenced the dating. Prytanis, who according to Apollodorus was Lycurgus' father, ruled from 979/8-931/0. Obviously, his son's ἀκμή cannot be dated in 885, the year of the legislation.

The two features of genealogical chronology may now be summarized as follows.

1. The catalogue of kings, which has only local significance, attains general validity by being artificially related to events of universal significance. The more remote these latter are, the livelier the imagination which must be used to bring about the relationship.

2. Genealogical chronology is unable to use the number of years indicating the terms of office of the catalogued kings, as in the nature of the tradition those data have not been preserved. So it computes these terms on the basis of synchrony.

¹ Cf. Jacoby, *Apollodorus Chronik*, p. 108 ff.

² Cf. Jacoby, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

nisms often relating to events whose dates have been fixed in an altogether different manner.

§ 4. PRIMARY OBJECTIONS

The above two features of the genealogical chronology obviously present serious obstacles. Yet these are of secondary significance compared with the difficulty caused by this chronology's chief characteristic, *viz.* its reckoning by generations or *γενεάτ*. Modern students have endeavoured to define the notion of generation. In Miss Chrimes we find this definition: 'Generation, *i.e.* the average length of time by which the last surviving member of each group of members of the family who stand in the same degree of descent to the supposed common ancestor outlives the corresponding last surviving member of the group representing the preceding degree of descent from the common ancestor'¹.

It would be a sheer anachronism to interpret the ancient Greek custom exclusively with the aid of this definition. Originally a generation was taken to be the average duration of the period between a man's birth and the birth of his son². This average duration, however, was not always computed in the same way, which is not surprising as there are considerable variations between two groups of cases serving as starting points for two calculators. It is also possible that at one time the calculation was based on physical adolescence, at another on the average marrying age. Historical chronology is not exclusively, not even primarily, based on this average period between birth and fatherhood; but chroniclers starting from reigning monarchs or officials fixed the average for a term of office at 25, 30, 35 or 40 years or at three generations per century. This last system is to be found in Herodotus (II, 142, 2), while the fourty-year period is attributed, tentatively, to Hecataeus.

¹ *Ancient Sparta*, p. 342, note 5.

² Cf. scholion on Homer, *Iliad* I, 250 (Dindorf I, p. 38).

It appears impossible to say which way of establishing the average term of office was the oldest¹, and it is sheer naïveté to believe that the following procedure is conclusive: Take the average term of office of members of a modern dynasty during a few centuries. Compare this average with the ancient methods of genealogical chronology. The method which roughly corresponds to the modern parallel is the correct one. It would have been used, so it is alleged, by contemporaries as a starting point for drafting their catalogue of kings.

Here, too, all depends on the cases taken for calculating the average. This dependence on the examples determines for modern scholars also the results of drawing up a table of dates for ancient chronology. I refer in this connection to two of the most recent inquiries. Prakken calls 40 years the average length of the individual reigns². On her – quite unfounded – discovery that Spartan chronology should have been based on generations of 27 years Miss Chrimes says: 'an approximation not so far from the truth whether applied to generations in the true sense' (*i.e.* according to her definition) 'or to the average length of reigns' (p. 342).

To fix a certain event by year and month within a generation is impossible – a second obstacle inherent in the genealogical system, resulting from the fact that within the chronological unit of the generation the years are not counted.

Oriental chronology frequently employs the phrase 'in the year X of king N', but indications of this kind do not occur in archaic Greek chronology. The result is that the genealogical chronology prefers to place events at the beginning, the middle or the end of a generation. This led Meyer to conclude that 'der Begriff der Generation nicht genau bestimmbar ist'. He had particularly in mind the generation in its original meaning of a period in the human life and says in this con-

¹ Ancient theories on generation and *δεκατή* are referred to by Jacoby, *Apollodorus Chronik*, p. 41 ff., and by H. Fraenkel, *Heraclitus on the notion of a generation*, AJP, LIX, 1938, p. 89–91.

Cf. D. W. Prakken, *Studies in Greek Genealogical Chronology*, p. 3.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

nection: 'Im allgemeinen wird man sie der ἀκμή eines Mannes gleichsetzen, aber eben so gut kann sie auf die Geburt gestellt werden und diese hat Herodot II, 145 vor allem im Auge, da er anders als bei Herakles ein geschichtliches Leben des Dionysos und Pan ausdrücklich läugnet und meint, die Griechen hätten die Geburt dieser Götter in die Zeit gesetzt, wo sie ihre Namen zuerst kennen lernten'¹. These words are worthy of consideration and should be given an wider implication in view of the manner in which Greek chronology has recently been discussed by scholars like Miss Chrimes and Kroymann (and also Prakken though his work is rather more descriptive). For they also apply to the chronology of the kinglists. It is the very impossibility of fixing events closely and the necessity of being content with vague indications that led chronography occasionally to break away from the system which was current in the age of Simonides and which had such great authority that Apollodorus and Eratosthenes, the founders of Hellenistic chronology, made it their basis. Yet we are in the dark as to the duration of a generation. Three generations per century according to Apollodorus' fasti is too short².

§ 5. HERODOTUS

A second stage of the tradition of genealogical historiography after Simonides is to be found in Herodotus. When he asserts that Lycurgus is a member of the other dynasty, an Agiad, guardian of Leobotes³, he declares that he follows a Spartan source.

Jacoby and others rightly pointed out that we are dealing here with an attempt to list the legislator in the dynasty which in historic times was the most important⁴.

¹ *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, I, 159.

² Cf. Jacoby, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

³ Cf. Jacoby, *op. cit.*, p. 114 and Meyer, *op. cit.* I, 276.

⁴ Cf. FGrHist, II BD, p. 744–746. On the list of Agiads wrongly reputed to be correct see Th. Lenschau, *Agiaden und Euryponiden*, RM, 88, 1939, p. 123–146.

It should be emphasized that Herodotus' statement is at second hand, and in any case more recent than the Eurypontid tradition about Lycurgus' descent which we can trace back as far as Simonides. It is unlikely that Lycurgus should first have belonged to the leading dynasty and that afterwards a tradition should have arisen, which listed the universally respected figure of this legislator with the less prominent house¹. We should therefore refrain from regarding Herodotus' lists of Spartan kings (VII, 204 for the Agiads and VIII, 131 for the Eurypontids) as the oldest form of lists handed down to us², but we had best start from the tradition which places Lycurgus in the house of the Eurypontids. The same tradition is followed by Apollodorus and goes back to Simonides, *i.e.* one or two generations before Herodotus. We do not know where Herodotus' lists came from. Ed. Meyer names Hecataeus as a possible author (I, 169), but Jacoby is more sceptical now³. Miss Chrimes, too, questions Meyer's conjecture⁴. The only assistance is offered by Herodotus himself, in his statement that his information about Lycurgus' guardianship over Leobotes came from a Spartan source. It may be assumed that the same source provided him with his lists of the Spartan kings. If this is correct, then we can well understand how in Sparta itself the influence of the Agiads gradually gave rise to a different chronology. Yet this chronology in its main features was not different from the one used by Simonides. It also started from the sack of Troy and the return of the Heraclidae, it also aimed at presenting synchronisms, and it also had no dates for events and terms of office. Herodotus presents the genealogical system according to the most essential characteristics of this chronology, *i.e.* the calculation according to generations. But so little did he

¹ The opposite view is, however, taken by H. Michell, *Sparta*, p. 21.

² As is done for instance by Lenschau, Philol., XCI, 1936.

³ *Attis*, p. 306, note 25.

⁴ *Ancient Sparta*, p. 335, note 4.

realize the consequences of this counting by generations that in spite of his assertion that three generations make a century (II, 142, 2) we find traces in him of counts by 40-year generations. Elsewhere, *viz.* in Plutarch, we shall find similar traces of a chronology which differs from the system adopted by the author (or by his main source) in one special work as a basis for dating events. These inconsistencies can hardly be avoided. Sometimes data, contained exclusively in one chronological pattern, must be included in a quite different system. In these cases the historian has no option but to insert a required sequence in his work, although actually it is incommensurable with his altogether different pattern. It is only to be expected that attempts must have been made to coordinate data belonging to various systems. This is easiest in the case of the count by three generations per century. The system did not count a generation as lasting $33\frac{1}{2}$ years but rounded the period off to 30 or 35 years, dealing with fractional numbers supposedly having been unknown. A fourth century chronicler is not likely to have worked with generations of 35 *and* of $33\frac{1}{2}$ years¹. Counting on the basis of three generations per century implies allotting to an extra generation beyond the three a span rounded off to 30 or 35 years. Ephorus' figure of 735 years² gives therefore no clue to the system he used. It may mean seven times 100 (three generations) plus 35 (rounded off for one generation), but twenty-one times 35 is equally possible. There are reasons for preferring the former interpretation³.

Burn recently drew the attention to traces of reconciling genealogies which purported to run from common beginnings to common ending points in differing numbers of generations⁴. Mrs. Miller's studies – some of whose results are referred to by Burn – no doubt will reveal quite a few attempts to reconcile

¹ So Prakken, *op. cit.*, p. 73 ff. as regards Ephorus.

² See p. 141, n. 4.

³ See p. 116.

⁴ JHS, LXIX, 1949, p. 71.

existing chronologies. Where these attempts failed, or rather when the need of developing a method suitable for linking the various lists of dates was not realized, those concerned were content to use the various systems jointly and promiscuously. This is the Herodotean stage.

Meyer proved that Herodotus sometimes allowed 40 years to a generation and this was confirmed, though without much additional information, by Prakken¹. Both Meyer and Prakken in my opinion regard too many chronological systems as based on generations of 40 years. As I see it, all cases in which Herodotus departs from his system of three generations per century may be traced to his list of Spartan kings which he derived from Spartan sources.

For the lists of kings this counting by 40-year generations (generation here means the number of years of the average term of office) is plain if we link the data in the Agiad list (VII, 204) with the number of 900 years which is supposed to lie between Heracles and Herodotus (II, 145, 4). Meyer's calculation for Heracles is as follows. The words *εἰς ἑμέν* he takes to mean *ca* 430. If we allow 40 years to each of the first twenty kings in the Agiad list, these regnal years cover a period of 800 years from Heracles (1330) to the death of Anaxandridas (530). If we take one more century, then to these 800 years have to be added the years of Cleomenes and Pleistarchus which brings us to the reign of Pleistoanax; that the exact dates for these last three kings were known, is quite possible. It is at any rate certain that the calculation of the 900 year period from Herodotus to Heracles is only possible with the 40-year system and with the Agiad list as a basis. Meyer rightly points out that the Eurypontid list could not be used as it lacks one name (VIII, 131), Soos not yet having been inserted between Procles and Eurypon². Here we have one of the reasons why caution is advisable in drawing conclusions

¹ *Herodotus and the Spartan king lists*, TAPA, LXXI, 1949, p. 460 ff. and *Studies in Greek genealogical chronology*, 1943.

²) *Op. cit.*, I, p. 170.

about Herodotus' chronological method and his use of generations of 40 years. It is in vain to try and construct for the Euryponids a system agreeing with the list handed down by Herodotus. As far as the Agiads were concerned the calculation was simple enough and in one case he could not ignore it, *viz.* when Heracles, the common ancestor of both Spartan dynasties, had to be dated, and so the list of Spartan kings on which the date was founded had to be applied. The reason why he could not ignore it was because this calculation was the chronological frame for the history not only of the leading state in archaic Greece but also of the whole of Greece as far as Sparta had had a part in it, and this applied practically to all important events. For this Spartan chronology Herodotus looked for the purest possible sources, *i.e.* in Sparta itself. Yet he did not coordinate this Spartan chronology with his own (unspecified) three generation method. In Sparta itself the method of counting 40 years to a generation was so little systematized that the Euryponid list had not been adapted to it. In short, Herodotus should not be too closely confined to this Spartan chronology.

A second reason for not binding Herodotus to the 40-year genealogy and to an exact calculation is the absence of a definite starting point. He uses the vague expression ἐξ ἐμέ. Meyer interprets it as *ca* 430 B.C. but this seems a little forced. He bases his interpretation on the words ὅτε τῶν . . . ἤκουον in II, 13, 1 which presuppose a certain lapse of time between the visit to Egypt and the composition of book II. The dates for the Egyptian journey *ca* 440 and the writing *ca* 430 are extremely uncertain as was pointed out by How and Wells who believed Herodotus' words ὅτε τῶν . . . ἤκουον to refer to *ca* 450¹. This difference of twenty years certainly

¹ *Commentary I*, p. 439, note 2.

Cf. Prakken, *op. cit.*, p. 35, note 80: 'Herodotus visited Egypt between 449 and 445 B.C.' For a totally different date (488/7 B.C.), see A. Ledl, *Studien zur älteren Verfassungsgeschichte*, p. 121. See also p. 118 below.

does not disprove Meyer's theory and its chief part relating to the Spartan 40-years list stands unrefuted. But it is clear that Herodotus should not be tied down to calculations which he admittedly did not use. I believe that many followers of Meyer, outdoing the master, have put too narrow an interpretation on Herodotus' statements, witness the little definable chronological starting point *ἐς ἐμέ*.

Further proof, in my opinion, is to be found in the text of II, 145, 4 as handed down in the manuscripts. It runs as follows: Διονύσῳ μὲν νων τῷ ἐκ Σεμέλης τῆς Κάδμου λεγομένῳ γενέσθαι κατὰ χίλια [έξακόσια] ἔτεα [καὶ] μάλιστά ἔστι ἐς ἐμέ, 'Ηρακλέι δὲ τῷ Ἀλκμήνης κατὰ εἰνακόσια [έτεα].

Following Wilamowitz the text was finally altered and supposedly reconciled with tradition by inserting the brackets as shown.

This alteration, however, had been preceded by Meyer's enquiry. His reason for rejecting the traditional text is the following. Heracles is said to have lived 700 years after Dionysus, but elsewhere (II, 44, 4) Cadmus, Dionysus' grandfather, is asserted to have lived five generations prior to Heracles' birth. According to this passage Heracles then lived during the sixth generation after Cadmus¹. This means that Heracles lived in the fourth generation after Dionysus, which amounts to a period of from 130 to 135 years in Herodotus' calculation and of 160 years according to the list of Spartan kings. In both cases, however, the difference from the 700 years in the text of II, 145, 4 is considerable. As it was considered unlikely that Herodotus should not have maintained his date for the famous god Dionysus, an attempt was made

¹ This is rightly pointed out by Prakken (*op. cit.*, p. 43, note 107) where he corrects Meyer, because Herodotus declares the period from the foundation of Thasos in Cadmus' time *until the birth* of Heracles to include five generations. This makes Heracles the sixth. *ἔγενετο* (and *γενόμενος*) has the same significance as *ἔγεννήθη* (Rohde, *Kl. Schr.*, I, p. 178, 1 and Jacoby, *Studi Italiani di filologia classica*, N.S., XV, 1938, p. 208).

to reconcile the text of II, 145, 4 with the other data by means of omitting a few words.

This rough handling of the text was first made plausible by Wilamowitz. He believes that we are dealing here with a *duplex lectio*: 'Herodotus schrieb X und meinte χλωξ, es bedeutete aber später: έξακόσια' ¹.

I cannot find this solution satisfactory. The attempt to explain an obscure text by removing its obscure part is always precarious. The following suggestion does not pretend to give a final solution but neither does it follow the line of least resistance as Wilamowitz did.

The starting point should be that Herodotus in II, 145, 4 does not refer to generations in the various meanings we met already but in the sense of multiples of 100 years. It is common knowledge that ancient chronology used the word γενεά also for a 100-year period ². Censorinus, in *de die natali* 17, 2, gives this definition of γενεά or saeculum naturale: 'saeculum est spatium vitae humanae longissimum partu et morte definitum'. This undoubtedly agrees with the interpretation of the word γενεά as term of life, which we find already in Homer ³. Now I would suggest that the period between Dionysus and Heracles may have been indicated by seven γενεά, in the sense of seven much shorter generations, but Herodotus (or his unknown authority) has not understood this chronological expression and interpreted it as γενεά in the sense of 100-year periods.

My suggestion may be objected to on the ground that, even

¹ Hermes, XL, 1905, p. 143. Wilamowitz pointed to a similar error in the text of Theophrastus (Hermes XXXIII, 1897, p. 522). Cf. the difficulties in the case of the text of Thuc. I, 103, 1: τετάρτης ἔτη or δευτέρης ἔτη. One may compare G. Klaffenbach, *Das Jahr der Kapitulation von Ithome und der Ansiedlung der Messenier in Naupaktos*, Historia, I, 1950, p. 231 ff. Notwithstanding these examples I believe that the Herodotus passage under discussion does not present a *lectio duplex* but a confusion of genealogical methods.

² See Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik*, p. 39.

³ See L-S², s.v.

if Herodotus did follow somebody else, it discredits him as a historian. I am of a different opinion. One can hardly realize how little accuracy there was in the various chronological systems. It should also be borne in mind that there is no foundation for the assertion that Herodotus must have known the chronological place he gave in other parts of his work to an important deity like Dionysus. Herodotus did not possess qualities as a critic in chronological matters. To maintain the opposite would be a kind of Herodotolatry, without support in any part of his work.

Yet, if we take 100 years for one γενεά, then the seven γενεάι of II, 145, 4 do not agree with the number taken from II, 44 as the period between Dionysus and Heracles: five generations between Cadmus and Heracles' birth, three between Cadmus' grandson Dionysus and Heracles' birth, then Heracles is the fourth generation after Dionysus. This would seem a serious objection to my conjecture.

Two points I wish to raise here. First of all, an accurate translation is essential. The text does not say that the period between Cadmus and Heracles' birth is equal to five generations but that it is *at least* (καλ) equal to five generations¹. We are therefore dealing, just as in the above case of the vague expression ἐς ἐπού, with an approximation. The same remark obviously applies to Dionysus: his distance to Heracles' birth is 'at least' three generations, that means that Heracles comes at least four generations after Dionysus. It follows then that 'at least four generations', *i.e.* the period between Dionysus and Heracles according to II, 44, 4, is equal to seven generations in the 100 year system of II, 145, 4 as interpreted above.

If in the former case generations of 35 years are taken and the expression 'at least four generations' is considered a justification for counting five in stead of four generations, and in the latter case generations of 25 years are taken as a basis, then the two passages in Herodotus agree, 5 times 35

¹ καλ ταῦτα καλ πέντε γενεᾶις ἀνθρώπων πρότερά ἔστι. Cf. How and Wells, *ad loc.*, 'at least five'.

being equal to 7 times 25. The confusion in the genealogical chronologies culminated in the application of 100-year generations side by side with the 25- and 35-year systems. No opportunity was left to discover the confusion when in the latter case the expression 'n times 100 years' was used instead of 'n generations'.

My hypothesis has the advantage of leaving Herodotus' text intact and in my opinion it has the support of Mrs. Miller's results referred to by Burn¹. She, too, concludes that attempts have been made to coordinate the various chronological systems. Presumably, many of these attempts failed. One of these failures, I believe, is revealed in the passages under discussion. If my conjecture is right, the conclusion must be that Herodotus not only reckoned by three generations per century and by generations of 40 years, but that his work also shows traces of genealogical chronologies using generations of 25, 35 and 100 years. This conclusion may be considered as a supplement to Meyer's pioneer work; it merely corroborates Meyer's conclusion that Herodotus did not know a definite chronological system².

Herodotus' departure from the reckoning by three generations per century has been overrated, witness the same passage (II, 145, 4). The distance between Pan and Herodotus amounts to 800 years. This Pan is the son of Penelope who is said to have been born after the latter's repudiation by Odysseus³. His birth may be approximately placed at from 15 to 20 years after the Trojan war. Herodotus is said to have had this in view when he used the words *λέγεται ὅπο 'Ελλήνων*. This puts the epoch for the sack of Troy 820 years before Herodotus, in 1250 B.C. Meyer concludes that this date for

¹ JHS, LXIX, 1949, p. 70 ff.

² If this example of intermingling genealogical methods were a solitary case I would have hesitated in submitting this hypothesis, but we shall meet other examples: III, 48 (see p. 63) and VII, 131 (see p. 68 and p. 88).

³ Meyer, *op. cit.*, I, 159.

the fall of Troy does not fit in a system of generations of 33½ years. The conclusion seems to be correct but the premises are not. First of all, in connection with his hundreds, Herodotus constantly approximates: *μάλιστα*. We also remarked before that the expression *εἰς ἡμέ* is vague, in any case does not exclude a difference of 13½ year. I believe there are ample grounds for maintaining that Herodotus in calculating the lapse of time between Pan and himself retained the basis of three generations per century mentioned in II, 142, 2. It should be added that Herodotus' words make it probable that he did not set store by the pretended descent from Pan.

This, however, does not disprove the conclusion to be drawn from the whole of II, 145, if it were true that the interval between Pan and the fall of Troy had been calculated on the basis of 33½-year generations. Even so, we find here traces of four different methods for applying the genealogical chronology, *viz.* generations of 25, 33½, 35 and 100 years.

As was demonstrated by Meyer, the chronological data of the Assyrian empire and the rule of the Mermnadae in Lydia were calculated by Herodotus on the basis of three generations per century. Besides this method there was another one, just as important, or even more so, to the Greeks, *viz.* the counting by 40-year generations in the list of Spartan kings.

Also in this stage of chronology, which we called the second stage, there is no trace of chronology within the regnal period of one individual king, and it is not probable that it actually existed. If it did exist, it cannot have had any authority. What we possess is tradition from historic literature made to order by chroniclers. Meyer's conclusion: 'Die uns überlieferten Zahlen sind das Ergebniss eines langen literarischen Prozesses, nicht Reste alter Urkunden'¹, should therefore be emphasized again and again, specially in the face of modern theories like those of Kroymann and Miss Chrimes.

This is corroborated, I believe, by the fluctuating theories on the length of a generation mentioned above. These theories

¹ *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 181/182.

no doubt have been standardized by later literature, although here there is a greater likelihood of ancient records having influenced the choice between 25, 35 and so on for the length of a generation.

This is the very point where the present interpretation differs from that of Meyer and Jacoby (to mention only the principal authors). I think it unlikely that the 40-year basis in Sparta was the outcome of literary evolution. We should distinguish here between the counting by generations itself and the number of years allotted to the various kings in the lists. These years change in accordance with the starting point of the list. They are never absolute but the intervals through the 40-year method are certain, as long as the sequence and the number of the names remain the same. Unfortunately, they are not always the same. Discrepancies between sequence and number might have had many causes but these are mostly untraceable. A striking alteration – though not in the official lists containing the *kings'* names – is Lycurgus' transfer from the Eurypontid house to that of the Agiads and a plausible theory attributes this to the desire to honour the leading dynasty¹. The insertion of Soos, a name which does not occur in the early tradition, in the lists of the Eurypontids also finds a satisfactory explanation if we assume that its purpose was to equalize the numbers of names in the lists, that of the Eurypontids being one short as compared with the Agiads. It is understandable that for these and similar occurrences the list of kings has been looked upon as mere literary work made to order. I am inclined to agree with this view as far as the dates attributed to the kings are concerned. But I also believe the counting by 40-year generations to have been a very ancient practice followed in Sparta when a first official attempt was made, probably for political or religious purposes, to classify past events. My sole reason for this belief is the fact that Herodotus adopts this basis of 40-year generations although he personally favours a different

¹ See p. 12.

method, that of three generations per century. Moreover, he made no attempt to reconcile these Spartan generations either with his own system of genealogical chronology or with other methods. Herodotus' reverence for the Spartan system, which he adopted wholesale even contrary to his own method, can only be explained by assuming that he thought the Spartan list to be an authentic and reliable pattern. If that be true, it is entirely likely that the traceable alterations in the list were inserted after him by literary tradition.

Yet a community like Sparta does not feel by its nature inclined to alter tradition under foreign pressure. There was no need to reconcile Spartan tradition with more influential chronological systems so long as Sparta politically called the tune. Historical chronology at that time rather conformed to Sparta. Not till later, when the Spartan system too had been adapted to the other genealogical methods, did it appear impossible to keep to Herodotus' method and to use the Spartan genealogical chronology side by side with the current one without any adjustment. To this adjustment IVth century historians were driven by the manner in which Spartan history was interwoven with that of the other Greeks. Local chronology had ceased to be the only possible one. Aristotle, too, came to realize the uselessness of genealogical methods which not only were based on differing views regarding the length of a generation – an objection which might have been surmounted if the other data had been reliable – but which had also introduced a very doubtful dating of events and of regnal periods. Aristotle was drastic and, like the great renovator he was in the field of chronology¹, he wished to discard genealogy as much as possible and build a new system with different material.

Our conclusion then regarding the second stage is that as far as the Spartan lists of kings are concerned, in Herodotus' days there was a list, giving no dates, reckoned on a basis of 40-year generations. The latter feature was not the result

¹ See p. 94 ff.

of literary evolution but was based on the custom followed in Sparta itself. Herodotus borrowed here from a Spartan source which cannot be traced.

This, however, is an intermediate point of view. It does not mean that we side with those who advocate the authenticity of dates in the lists of kings. Our difference is best explained by the following quotation from J. Kroymann¹: 'Sämtliche Ereignisse der altspartanischen Kriegsgeschichte sind in unserer Überlieferung mit den Namen irgendwelcher spartanischen Könige verbunden. Hierbei kann unmöglich völlige Willkür geherrscht haben. Da die spartanischen Könige die berufenen Führer der Spartaner im Kriege waren, so ist es vielmehr wahrscheinlich, dass die Verbindung einzelner Könige mit den verschiedenen kriegerischen Ereignissen der frühspartanischen Geschichte wenigstens zu einem guten Teile auf echt alte Überlieferung zurückgeht.' The point is to indicate the difference between the dated lists of Hellenistic chronographers which employed haphazardly constructed tradition (Pausanias' list of kings goes back to this chronography), and the list itself which only gives a succession systematized in olden times by fixing the distance between the kings at 40 years. Kroymann speaks of the impossibility of 'völlige Willkür' and of the probability that 'die Verbindung einzelner Könige mit den verschiedenen kriegerischen Ereignissen' may be traced to ancient tradition, but terms like 'wahrscheinlich' and 'völlig' cannot fail to make a modern historian feel unhappy. If Kroymann meant that the chronological plan itself 'auf echte Überlieferung zurückgeht', I would not cavil at this phraseology, but I cannot follow him if, in spite of saving clauses like 'wenigstens zu einem guten Teile' (how far does this extend?), he credits the Hellenistic products with authenticity.

On the other hand, Jacoby's scepticism² goes too far

¹ *Pausanias und Rhianos*, 1943, p. 154.

² *Apollodors Chronik*, p. 118.

when he says: 'Über die frage nach der historischen glaubwürdigkeit aller dieser ansätze¹ ist nach Wilamowitz' *Hom. Unters.*, p. 283 ff. und Meyer, *Forschungen*, I, 278 ff. kaum ein wort mehr zu verlieren'. This sceptical outlook is criticized by Toepffer in *Beitr. zur griech. Altert.wiss.*, 1897, 347/362.

§ 6. HERODOTUS' DATING of LYCURGUS (I, 65–66)

After these general remarks on Herodotus' place in the history of chronology the only passage where he refers to the Spartan legislator claims our attention.

I need not dwell on this passage, 'perhaps the most remarkable instance of a carefree chronology in his history' (Gomme), since Hammond recently offered an excellent study on the interpretation of I, 65–66 in connection with Herodotus' narrative as a whole².

The main point here is that the passage on Lycurgus should be regarded as a parenthesis in no way chronologically connected with the war between Sparta and Tegea which led to the digression about Lycurgus.

This war in its turn is mentioned because Croesus had learned about the recent victory over Tegea, won after a hazardous war. We find therefore two digressions, one on the war with Tegea and the other on Lycurgus' activities.

1. The war with Tegea under the kings Leon and Agasicles (to be dated, according to the list of kings which Herodotus knew, at *ca* 600–560 B.C.) had not proceeded successfully

¹ The reference is to Lycurgus, not so much the dating of this legislator, but his place in the system of the 40-year lists as the guardian of Leobotes. Cf. p. 12.

² *The Lycurgean Reform at Sparta*, JHS, LXX, 1950, 53 ff. Of the recent studies on these much debated chapters I mention: Ehrenberg, *Aspects of the ancient world*, p. 70 ff., Andrewes, CQ, XXXII, 1938, p. 92 ff., Wade-Gery, CQ, XXXVIII, 1944, 1 ff., Gomme, *Commentary*, I, p. 128, Chrimes, *Ancient Sparta*, p. 319, cf. p. 329 ff., Myres, CR, LXI, 1947, p. 80, Vlastos, *Isonomia*, AJP, LXXIV, 1953, p. 337–366, spec. p. 351.

although eventually the Spartans managed to defeat their enemies.

2. Now follows the digression on Lycurgus announced by the words: Τὸ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον τούτων καὶ κακονομάτων ἡσαν σχεδὸν πάντων Ἑλλήνων κατὰ τε σφέας αὐτοὺς καὶ ξένοισι ἀπρόσμεικτοι.

Hammond rightly remarks: 'The period of κακονομία to which τὸ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον τούτων refers is . . . antecedent to the Εὖνομία brought about by Lycurgus in the reign of Leobotes'¹.

There are in the context two more interesting points.

α κακόνομος in Herodotus' view does not mean 'disorderly' but 'with bad laws'. The verb εὐνομεῖσθαι he also uses in a political sense, giving it the meaning of 'possessing a good constitution'².

¹ p. 54.

² Andrewes' conclusion regarding εὐνομία: 'that the word at all times refers primarily to the behaviour of citizens and not directly to any sort of constitution', does not apply to Herodotus. I believe the use of this word in connection with Lycurgus' legislative work to be justified by I, 65: μετέβαλον δὲ δύε ἐξ εὐνομίην, after which Herodotus distinctly mentions a number of political and military measures. There is much in favour of the evolution as outlined by Myres that εὐνομία is derived from νόμος and indicates 'rather a state of society than a moral attitude or a state of mind' (cf. Ehrenberg, *Aspects*, p. 85). In the course of time 'one feature of eunomia after another was embodied in a formal νόμος' (Myres). I believe this evolution to have been accomplished already in Herodotus' time and this justifies our employing the expression, as a name for the Spartan constitution or for Lycurgus' laws. But Andrewes certainly is right when he disapproves of the term being used 'to designate a series of hypothetical reforms of the Spartan constitution in the early sixth century'. His criticism, however, should in my opinion be first of all directed against the haphazard way of dating the constitutional reforms in Sparta. Here Beloch's ghost still haunts modern research, e.g. in Jacoby, *Atthis*, 1949, p. 266, 'the genuine 'Lykurgos' of 556/5 B.C.' (cf. p. 309, note 63) and before him in Ehrenberg, *Neugründung des Staates*, 1925, p. 7 ff., whose conjecture in a coarsened form had been borrowed by A. Kleinguenther, Πρῶτος Εὐρετής (*Philologus* Suppl. 26, I, 1933, p. 122 ff.). Miss Chrimes deserves credit for breaking drastically with this Beloch cult in her work, even though on many points it is open to controversy.

In this connection he enumerates military and political reforms and he concludes his account with the phrase 'in this way the Spartans acquired a good constitution'.

b Of greater purport than the interpretation of one single word (under *a*) is the meaning of the excursus seen in the light of the whole of Herodotus' story. Particularly the words *έπι* and *καὶ* in *τὸ δὲ ἔπι πρότερον τούτων καὶ κακονομάτατοι ἦσαν* are important.

Herodotus' object is to give an account of the troubles the Spartans in the past had encountered in other fields beside the military. His line of thought may be summarized as follows.

'The Spartans waged war but met with a rebuff before Tegea. <Later on things changed for the good>, just (*καὶ*) as in the matter of legislation, <because formerly there had been trouble in this field, too>. I shall tell you how this was overcome. Lycurgus took a hand'.

But there is no indication in Herodotus that the date of this legislation should be placed in a period immediately preceding the kings Leon and Agasicles.

With the mention of Lycurgus' death and the divine tribute paid to him, Herodotus' excursus comes to an end. The phrase *οὐα δὲ ἔπι τε χωρῇ ἀγαθῇ καὶ πλήθει οὐκ δλίγων ἀνδρῶν, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον αὐτὶ καὶ καὶ εὐθενήθησαν* is a continuation of *οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς Τεγεήτας μούνους προσέπταιον*. The word *αὐτίκα* connects what follows with the defeat under Leon and Agasicles, not with Lycurgus' laws. Taken formally, the words *οὐτω μὲν μεταβαλόντες εὐνομήθησαν* already constitute a termination and, equally formally, it should have been continued by the sentence beginning with *οὐα*. But after *εὐνομήθησαν* there follows, as a natural conclusion of the story, still a purely factual piece of information, *viz.* Lycurgus' death and its consequences. This factual finish obscures the formal conclusion.

If we view the paragraph in this light, there is no question of two sets of facts which Herodotus has falsely combined.

Herodotus probably had some vague notion of the time in which the kings Leon and Agasicles lived but none of the date of Lycurgus' legislation. The relation between the defeat against Tegea and the legislation to him was not of a chronological order. What he wished to point out was merely an analogy between the course of events. The defeat was not permanent and finally in the days of Croesus (67, 1) it was turned into a victory. The legislation, too, crowned with success much uphill exertion after times of upheaval. In both cases, in political matters in a remote past, and in military matters under the kings Ariston and Anaxandridas, good finally came from evil.

To attach a chronological meaning to this notorious passage amounts to wronging Herodotus. Wade-Gery and many Germans before him place the legislative work in the time of the war with Tegea. Miss Chrimes places the war at the date assumed by her for the legislation, *i.e.* at the end of the ninth century (p. 329/330). Both theories are wrong. Instead of Gomme's term 'a carefree chronology' I would prefer to speak of an artless and clever association of two series of events which followed a similar course. The Hellenistic chronologists who set so much store by Herodotus' dating of Homer¹ evidently did not think I, 65-66 of much importance. If they had attached any value to the twelve generations between Leonidas and Leobotes (whose guardian Lycurgus was according to Herodotus), they would on two essential points have abandoned their own chronology.

First of all, they would have transferred Lycurgus to the Agiads and thereby have forsaken the old tradition about the dynasty to which Lycurgus belonged. But they are unanimous in upholding the Eurypontid tradition.

Secondly, they could not have played their part as intermediaries between genealogical reckoning and the reckoning according to the Olympic era². If Herodotus' dating of

¹ See p. 114 ff.

² See p. 124 ff.

Leobotes is calculated on the lines of the Agiad list, it would place Lycurgus at the end of the eleventh century B.C.¹. This would have made it impossible to reconcile the Olympic date 776 and the dating in the beginning of the tenth or the end of the eleventh century B.C. A conjecture, the plausibility of which can be demonstrated, is that they actually aimed at such a reconciliation and that in doing so they employed a synchronism for Homer and Lycurgus².

The object of the Hellenistic chronographers may be a matter of controversy. But so much is certain that they left it to their modern successors to drag into their chronological discussions a passage which offers no real point of dispute. We shall be well advised to follow their example and in future keep I, 65-66 out of all discussion on chronological problems. In any case, there is no justification for calling Herodotus a poor chronologer merely on account of this one passage. If it is discarded, there will remain quite a few other passages suitable for demonstrating the poor standard of historical chronology in Herodotus' work.

¹ See the schedule in the opening part of the chapter on Theopompus. I take it that Herodotus used Spartan generations of 40 years (Meyer). I do not think it probable that he departed here from this method in favour of either his own system of three generations per century, or of the 22 generations of Heraclidae in Lydia who reigned for 505 years (Hammond, p. 53, presumes these two possibilities). In any case, Hammond's conclusion is right: 'But the vagueness of Herodotus' early chronology makes such calculations of little value'.

²) See p. 120 ff.

CHAPTER II

GENEALOGICAL CHRONOLOGY AND ERA

§ 1. INTRODUCTION

The first stage of genealogical chronology is linked with the name of Simonides, the second with that of Herodotus. Of the first stage our only information is based on the mass of data from the Hellenistic age in which once the name of Simonides occurs¹. In other words, all we know about the first stage is a name, and the fact that Lycurgus was placed by Simonides in the dynasty of the Euryponids. That at this stage the lists of kings were undated may well be concluded from our examination of the second stage, for with Herodotus there is no question of dating the kings nor of allocating events to definite regnal years. That before him Simonides should have known these dates does not seem very likely.

The transition from the undated to the dated list heralds the third phase of the genealogical chronology. We do not know who was responsible for this chronology any more than for those of the first and second phase. Eratosthenes and Apollodorus undoubtedly had their predecessors.

One thing is certain: in their version Lycurgus' place has been assigned on the lines of the first stage, *viz.* in the dynasty of the Euryponids. Although in the IVth century some authors (later incorporated by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (II, 49, 4)) made Lycurgus the brother of Eunomus' father and the son of Eurypon (the eponymous founder of the dynasty), the majority of writers were more modest: Lycurgus

¹ This suggested the existence of a chronographer called by this name, apart from the poet. The theory only shows how little is known about this stage.

is brother to Polydectes, the son of Eunomus. The chronicler believed to be responsible for this is Dieuchidas of Megara¹. Prakken has lent plausibility to the theory that Dieuchidas borrowed his chronology from Ephorus². However, it does not greatly matter which of the two is the author of the vulgate, as it may be safely assumed that up to and including Ephorus the genealogical chronology, including the variations mentioned, was predominant. Opposition, however, was not lacking, as already before Ephorus there presumably existed another system, a reflection of which is to be found in Aristotle. We do not know whether Ephorus alone is responsible for the amended genealogical system; nor do we know whether Aristotle himself invented his system cut and dried. If they were not the first then it matters little which of the two preceded the other. It is certain that Aristotle tackles the questions regarding dating in an altogether different manner. He starts from archaeological evidence, so Plutarch tells us (*Lyc.* 1), the Olympic quoit, a kind of relic bearing the name of Lycurgus. Lycurgus the legislator was supposed, together with Iphitus of Elis whose name also appeared on the quoit, to have arranged anew the Olympic games in the year in which for the first time the victors were mentioned, *viz.* the year 776 B.C. In this way two chronological dates for Lycurgus originate, the 'Ephoric' and the 'Aristotelian': 869 (later 885/4) and 777/6. It is evident that in these two cases the Spartan chronology has been constructed in greatly different ways. Our information about the origin and growth of these systems is so inadequate that we cannot say with certainty which of the two has priority. As noted above, both Ephorus and Aristotle had their forerunners. Up to the present time the 'Ephoric' system was generally regarded to be the older, but there is now reason to believe³ that the system favoured by Aristotle called forth

¹ Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik*, p. 115: FGrHist, 485, fr. 4 and 5.

² AJP, LXII, 1941, 348-351.

³ See p. 117 ff. and p. 140 ff.

a defence of the genealogical chronology resulting in the system which after the example of Ephorus was used in Hellenistic times. If this should be the case, then the dating 777/6 was made earlier than that of 885/4 (or 877/6 and 869).

It would be an anachronistic way of thinking to regard this contrast as a struggle between genealogical chronology and archaeological research. Archaeology with its Olympic quoit is but an expedient in the struggle between two fundamentally different systems of time reckoning, the genealogical method and the 'era', *i.e.* the Olympic era, method. This Olympic era is undoubtedly older than Aristotle's radical dating of Lycurgus which it supported by providing Aristotle with the date of the first Olympiad.

The conflict started by Aristotle is therefore not new, although Jacoby gives us that impression in his masterly exposition of the attempts at reconciliation after Aristotle¹. To understand Aristotle's chronology well, it will be necessary for us to examine this era-dating, always remembering that in Aristotle's time genealogical chronologists permitted themselves the wildest liberties in the field of dating. One restraining factor in the midst of this laxity we have not yet mentioned; it was the very era-dating which made it possible to place fixed points in a four-year frame instead of in a forty-year frame. If in some cases a certain Spartan king was connected with a certain Olympiad, this linking gave some more definite shape to the forty years, but in that case we have to assume a coordination of era and kings' list. We shall find, however, that this very coordination was a source of constant trouble. From the third century B.C. onwards, the dating by Olympiads became the leading Greek chronological system; but this triumph over other systems, particularly over the genealogical chronology, is preceded by a period of strife which certainly did not begin with Hippias of Elis, the author of the List of Olympic Victors.

When we compare the various methods of time reckoning

¹ *Apollodorus Chronik*, p. 123 ff.

we notice at once the existence of three groups permitting successively a more accurate dating of an event. The Olympiads cover a four-year period which means an improvement as compared with the genealogical chronology which reckoned by periods of at least 25 years. In the beginning, however, reckoning with years was not any more customary within the Olympiads than it was in the case of a regnal period¹. The annual offices, as in the case of the Athenian list of archons beginning in 682 B.C., made dating possible on the basis of one quarter of the span covered by an Olympiad. We are unable to follow in detail the struggle for the chronological pattern according to one of these great systems but we know from indications in Charon, Hellanicus and Hippias that it existed.

§ 2. CHARON

As a first example I mention the *Prutaneis* by Charon of Lampsacus². The dating of this author needs no discussion and it is irrelevant whether we regard him as an older contemporary of Herodotus (so Pearson), or as a figure halfway between the Herodotus-Thucydides period and the IVth century historians (so Jacoby)³. From the title of Charon's work, the only thing known to us, we may conclude that in the course of the fifth, or in the beginning of the fourth century

¹ Fabius Pictor, who according to Jacoby goes back to Eratosthenes, is the first to use this method. Cf. E. Bickermann, *Chronologie* (Einl. in die Altertumswiss., III. Bd, 5. Heft), 1933, p. 35.

² FGrHist, III, 262.

³ L. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, 1939, p. 139 ff. Jacoby, *Charon von Lampsakos*, Studi Italiani di Filologia classica, N.S., XV, 1938, p. 207 ff. Jacoby gives sound reasons for his opinion that Charon himself was in Sparta (cf. fr. 2), but I cannot follow him when he places this visit in the period of Spartan hegemony, after 404 B.C. (pp. 219-20). I do not believe we have sufficient material for dating this visit. This disposes of Jacoby's chief arguments for dating Charon.

B.C. an attempt was made to end the monopoly of the Spartan lists of kings as a basis for the Spartan chronology.

The name Πρυτάνεις [ἢ ἄρχοντας] τοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων includes both kings and ephors¹. Charon wished to get rid of the genealogical pattern by including the ephors who were bearers of an annual office. It seems risky to build this conclusion on one single word but there is supporting evidence.

Before we go further, a different opinion of the word *prutaneis* needs to be refuted here². Miss Chrimes holds that *prutaneis* means all 'principes', all members of the royal house including those who were not kings, and she refers to Herodotus VIII, 131, Leotychidas' genealogical tree, which mentions five names for ancestors of this king who did not rule. If this view were correct Charon would have adhered to the genealogical method, but I venture to disagree on the ground that in Charon's time the word *prutaneis* was used already to denote persons who took an active part in municipal government. Athens is an example. Besides, Leotychidas' case is an exception in the genealogical table of the Eurypontids and does not warrant the conclusion that a rule existed requiring not only the names of kings but also those of non-ruling members of the royal house to be registered in *χρονικά*. If their names were preserved, the *άνωγραφή* so produced had no meaning whatever for chronology³, though its names of kings taken individually might be called *χρονικά*. That Charon's list may not be regarded as an *άνωγραφή* of the members of the royal families is shown by the fact that to the mention of *πρυτάνεις* in the Suda the words οὐτοί δὲ *χρονικά*

¹ Cf. Jacoby, *Attis*, p. 59 and p. 282, note 55.

² It is to be found in Miss Chrimes' work *Ancient Sparta*, p. 337/5.

³ Plutarch speaks of *οἱ Λακωνικοὶ ἀνωγραφαὶ* including the names of women belonging to the royal house (*Ages.* 19). Here, too, there is no question of *χρονικά*. The use of the term *ἀνωγραφή* for these cases should be a warning. It should not be thought that in historiography the word only applied to special chronological lists. We endorse here Jacoby's words: 'A systematic investigation of the matter and the word would be desirable'. (*Attis*, p. 353, note 3).

have been added. This shows that the whole list of prytaneis was considered as *χρονικά*.

So we are led to conclude that Charon of Lampsacus in his *Prutaneis* attempted to link the genealogical chronology to an annalistic list. We may suppose that he failed, as only the title of his work accidentally survived. The cause is obvious. The Spartan list of kings was the leading genealogical chronology; already before Charon it had a panhellenic standing and without the cooperation of the Spartans themselves any alteration or addition was out of the question. We need have no illusions about such cooperation, because Sparta, growing ever more unprogressive in the fifth century B.C., certainly was not prepared to countenance a division into years and so to alter a list that for centuries had emphasized the special position of the kings. Even the ephors in their most influential period could not have entertained the idea, supposing they had been in favour of it¹, because they would have antagonized both royal houses and so would not have been able to apply their traditional 'divide and rule' policy against both. Opposition from the part of the two houses against a method as advocated by Charon would have been understandable. The idea that the generation of a king should be inadequate and in need of completion with the aid of the ephor's year would have been humiliating for bearers of the royal office whose prerogatives in the course of time had already been severely curtailed by the ephorate.

§ 3. HELLANICUS

But Charon does not stand alone. Besides him we may mention Hellanicus, who in two works appears as a reformer of genealogical chronology, *viz.* the list of *Priestesses of Argos* and the list of *Victors in the Carnea*.

¹ It should be stressed that the ancient list of ephors was in no way combined with the lists of kings. It was therefore far less humiliating than Charon's attempt.

The 'Ιέρειαι τῆς Ἡρας αἱ ἐν Ἀργείῳ¹ was a universal chronicle of Hellas², whereas Charon's work had Sparta's history as its subject. The nature of Hellanicus' subject made him choose a chronological system less locally restricted than e.g. the Spartan lists of kings would have made it. Now the Argos priestesses were elected for life, which raises the question whether the chronology based on the succession of these women did not have similar objections as the method of the kings' lists. The answer is decidedly in the affirmative, but there is this difference that, unlike the case of the Spartan kings, the new chronological pattern evidently knew a counting of the years within each term of office. The way of dating may be illustrated by the following fragment (79b): 'Ἀλκυόνης ἱερωμένης ἐν Ἀργείῳ κατὰ τὸ ἔκτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος.

In Thucydides' time a chronology was current in Sparta which had entirely broken away from the lists of kings, *viz.* the list of ephors³. At the same time the list of archons was employed in Athens. A system combining Athenian, Spartan and Argive chronology may be found in Thucydides II, 2, 1: ἐπὶ Χρυσίδος ἐν Ἀργείῳ τότε πεντήκοντα δυοῖν δέοντα ἔτη ἱερωμένης καὶ Αἰνησίου ἑφόρου ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ Πυθοδώρου ἔτι δύο μῆνας ἀρχοντος Ἀθηναίου. Yet these three indications evidently were not sufficient to convey to every Greek the opening date of the Peloponnesian war, which accounts for the additional words: μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ποτιδαιᾳ μάχην μηνὶ ἔκτῳ καὶ ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ.

Classen-Steup's remark (*ad loc.*): 'Da Th. den Krieg κατὰ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα darstellen wollte, so musste er notwendig angeben in welchen dieser Jahresabschnitte das Ereignis fiel, mit welchem er den Krieg beginnen liess, und ferner sich auch darüber aussern, wie weit der betreffende Jahresabschnitt damals vorgerückt war', is deceptive. We need to ask first why Thucydides wished to write his history κατὰ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα. The answer is⁴, that chronology was still so much of a local nature that an indication of a date, which could be

¹ FGrHist, 4, fr. 74–84. ² Jacoby, *Attis*, p. 59. ³ Cf. p. 82 ff.

⁴ Cf. Gomme at the beginning of his *Commentary*, p. 1 ff.

understood not only in Athens, Sparta or Argos but also by Greeks elsewhere, was out of the question. If a historian wished to date an event more accurately than with the aid of the seasons and to make himself understood by a wider public, he had to have recourse to a very cumbersome description such as we find in Thuc. II, 2, 1. Only in the case of a very important event such as the opening of hostilities could he permit himself such profuseness, but even then an indication falling within the scope of one year is only given for the Athenian dating Πυθοδάρου ἐπί δέο μῆνας ἀρχοντος. The fact that only in this chronology the month of the year is given might perhaps suggest that this was not done outside Athens. In cases where the Athenian dating is unknown the indication provided is insufficient and mention of the season is added. There are in my opinion two reasons for the additional words 'in the sixth month after Potidaea'. The chief reason has no general chronological significance; the dating has its importance only within the framework of Thucydides' history. The indication, however, was also a help for those who were not familiar with the Athenian reckoning by months and who had inserted the important revolt of Potidaea in their own local chronicle.

The point to remember is that Thucydides was no dogmatist strictly adhering to one single method of dating. Nor may we saddle him with a preference for dating on the basis of seasons and with underrating the chronological lists (so Jacoby). He aimed at clarity and succinctness, and these led him to the adoption of the method κατὰ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα in the exposition of events. When in his narrative he reaches a climax, as in the case of the opening of hostilities or the Thirty Years' Peace (V, 19 f.), he sacrifices on one occasion brevity to lucidity. We do not know with certainty who was the first to combine Spartan, Athenian and Argive chronology as was done by Thucydides. Gomme suggests Hellanicus¹. It may

¹ *Commentary* I, p. 4: 'Attempts could be, and had already been made by Hellanikos, to equate the dates of magistrates of different states'. Cf. Thuc. II, 2, 1.

not be a bold guess to regard Thucydides himself as the author, for it seems curious that in these chronologies the only one to have more than local significance, *i.e.* the Spartan chronology of the kings' lists, is wanting. Hellanicus' attempt to make the list of priestesses of Hera the basis of a new chronological system is not methodically different from the system built on the lists of kings. In both cases we are dealing with persons holding office for life, the only difference being that Hellanicus counts the years within the term of office separately. The list of ephors and the Athenian list of archons are the outcome of a drastic and systematic renovation. It is not so much the name of the bearer of an honourable office appointed for life as the man who holds office for one year who defines the time reckoning for the community. The chronicler who builds his system on kings and priestesses has an altogether different mentality from the man who prefers ephors and archons. In short, the passage in Thucydides II, 2, 1 seems too revolutionary for Hellanicus whose reconstructive work, according to the *Priestesses of Hera* attributed to him, consisted in applying to historical chronology the reckoning by years within longer terms of office. It is irrelevant whether this way of reckoning was his own invention or whether it was already used in the Argive list of priestesses. The latter seems probable, Hellanicus deserving credit for investing a local list with universal bearing. Thucydides certainly knew Hellanicus' work, witness the well known phrase in I, 97 about the Ἀττικὴ ἔντασις. The founding of Naxos on Sicily (fr. 82) was likewise mentioned in the list of priestesses: Θεοκλῆς ἐκ Χαλκίδος μετὰ Χαλκιδέων καὶ Ναξίων ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλιν ἔστισε. It is plausible that Hellanicus dated this event and connected it with his general system of Greek chronology¹ and that this work was one of the sources of Thucydides' exposition in VI, 3.

Without new data there is nothing to be added to our discussion on the dating of the Ιέρειαι and we have to be

¹ T. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks*, 1948, p. 438.

content with referring to Jacoby¹ and Pearson². Of their dating, respectively after 423 (burning of the Hera temple in Argos, Thuc. IV, 133) and after 429 (based on Thuc. II, 80, the campaign against Ambracia which passage is linked with Hellanicus fr. 83 mentioning Ambracia), the former seems relatively to be the most probable, although the argumentation does not seem satisfactory. Against Pearson it may be argued that in the fragments preserved no statement can be linked with fifth century events, which bars any extensive conclusion drawn from the occurrence of a geographical name like Ambracia in fr. 83. (Fr. 81 offers no counter proof as the passage, doubtfully assumed to refer to the Athenian campaign in Boeotia, is evidently not from Hellanicus³.

The Victors of the Carnea, the Spartan festival of Apollo, is another of Hellanicus' chronological works (fr. 85-86). According to the scanty data concerning this work Hellanicus is said to have related that his fellow countryman Terpander had been the first victor in the Carnea and to have mentioned another fellow countryman by the name of Arion as the inventor of the κόκλιον χοροῦ. Finally, Terpander is said to have lived in the time of Midas. From these data it appears that the work had a local and patriotic tendency as two poets of Lesbos are given such a prominent place. It is also noteworthy that Terpander is linked with the κόκλιον χοροῦ. It is no mere accident that Midas, king of Phrygia in a mythical past, is given a place in a chronological work based on musical contests. This synchronism also shows that the list of musicians was not quite separate from what was considered to be political history in a remote past. Midas had been a king and had played a part in the history of a state in Asia Minor. We have no fragments to tell us whether more of these synchronisms occur in the *Karneonikai*. Considering the prominent

¹ FGrHist, I, p. 455.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 226.

³ Cf. Jacoby, *loc. cit.*

place allotted to these Lesbian poets by this chronicler of Lesbos we cannot regard this list as a mere 'history of civilization'. A mere reference to sophists who are known to have written histories of this kind does not suffice to rank Hellanicus' *Karneonikai* with these works¹. These 'histories of civilization' no doubt had chronological significance as shown by the later ἀναγραφὴ ἡ ἐν Σεκυδῷ ἀποκειμένη, δι' ἣς τὰς τε ιερείας τὰς ἐν Ἀργεί καὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς καὶ τοὺς μουσικοὺς δινομάζει (scil. Ἡρακλείδης δ Ποντικός)².

Many scholarly works, however, are without any patriotic tendency. Hellanicus is different. We know that he wrote a history of Lesbos. He was fond of his island and also of its civilization. Considering the victories won by many of his compatriots in Sparta during the contests, the selection of a new chronological list in which these very champions provide a frame for a general chronology is understandable as it provided an opportunity to eulogize Lesbos³.

With necessary reservation Hellanicus' aim might be described as follows. 'In Sparta there are data about the victors in the musical contests⁴. Amongst these, Lesbian singers and poets are prominent. I might make this list serve as a chronology not centring round Argos, Athens or Sparta (as is the case with the lists of priestesses, archons and prytaneis) but give prominence to Lesbos, although its position is not autonomous but depends on a Spartan feast'.

It may be asked why Hellanicus entered into competition

¹ As writers of the time before 400 B.C. may be mentioned in this connection Glaucus, Περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν καὶ μουσικῶν, and Damastes, Περὶ ποιητῶν καὶ σοφιστῶν.

² Plut. *De Mus.* 3, 1132 A; cf. Jacoby, *Attis*, p. 58.

³ Jacoby's statement: 'If these writings are to be described by a general term, this must be History of Culture, in which the sophists are interested, not Local History' (*Attis*, p. 59) does not apply to Hellanicus' work (although I readily agree with Jacoby's subsequent remark that it need not to have been the priests who recorded these victors).

⁴ Jacoby, too, thinks it possible that these existed (*Attis*, p. 59).

with himself by launching two chronological systems (assuming, as I am inclined to do, that both the priestesses' list and the *Karneonikai* had the same object in view, *viz.* a universal and panhellenic chronology). The answer is that Hellanicus wished to replace two powerful systems, the lists of Spartan kings, as I suggested, by the *Priestesses*, and the *Olympionikai* by the *Karneonikai*. Both attempts served the same purpose. The *Priestesses* indicated the year within the term of office of each office bearer; the *Karneonikai* were annually supplemented, the festival with its contests being an annual occasion. (That the Carnea were an annual affair seems very likely as the sacred month in which the festival was held was called *Karneios* by the Dorians¹. It is unlikely that the month would have been given this name unless the festival it was called after had been an annual occasion). In both cases his aim, then, was to acquire a more accurate system of time reckoning. To him neither the 40-year generation (without subdivision) nor the 4-year Olympiad (which did not even give the number of the Olympiad from a fixed epochal date, let alone a subdivision of the Olympiad in four years) was sufficiently exact.

The above exposition differs in two ways from the current opinion on the evolution of chronology. From the scanty data it would appear that Hellanicus' originality lay in: 1. his desire to give like Charon the indication of the year its indispensable place in chronology; 2. his two attempts to accomplish this. In connection with the latter item we should have to include the *Karneonikai* among the works of the chronographers (in contrast with Jacoby who, I believe wrongly, regards the work merely as a history of Hellas' music)².

¹ Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I, p. 501 and OCD s.v. Carnea.

² FGrHist., II B, p. 992.

In this connection it is advisable to distinguish between the various stages in which the List of Olympic Victors may have been made up. One way is to make a list of the champions, to number it according to the Olympiad and then to subdivide the Olympiad in four years. Thucydides gives two Olympic dates but does not yet number the Olympiads. The first indication runs (V, 49, 1): 'Ολυμπική δὲ ἐγένετο τοῦ θέρους τούτου, οἷς Ἀνδροσθένης παγκράτιον τὸ πρῶτον ἐνίκα.

The second passage has even less value for a general chronology. The Mytilenaean ambassadors arrive in Olympia at the very moment of the festival. Thucydides says (III, 8): ἦν δὲ Ὁλυμπιάδες, ἦν Δωριεὺς Ῥόδιος τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκα. Here, too, the number of the Olympiad is not mentioned and Gomme rightly points out that we are dealing here rather with a descriptive term of a famous Olympic festival than a date¹. That originally there was no uniformity in the chronology based on the Olympic victors regarding the victor to be mentioned follows from the fact that Thucydides mentions the *pankratiast* instead of the *stadionikes* who later was the only one to be recorded.

Hippias, who after Charon and Hellanicus deserves mention as the author of the List of Olympic Victors, probably gave first place already to the *stadionikes* and caused Philistus to write shortly afterwards (FGrHist, 556, fr. 2): ἐπὶ τῆς Ὁλυμπιάδος, ἦν Οἰβάτας ὁ Δυμαῖος ἐνίκα στάδιον. Usually the fragment through a slight alteration is made to mean the sixth Olympiad. Gavelius: τῆς <ε> Ὁλυμπιάδος, Jacoby: <ε> τῆς Ὁλυμπιάδος. If one of these conjectures is correct then Philistus borrowed from Hippias not only the *stadionikes*, who was to become the traditional Victor of the list, but also the numbering of the Olympiads². It also eliminates the theory that

¹ *Comm.* I, p. 8, note 3.

² On Oebotas and his place in chronology cf. Hitzig-Blümner, *Comm. Paus.*, vol. II, 2, p. 806.

Hippias only made a list of names and it makes it probable that he at least also numbered the Olympiads.

The supposition that Hippias numbered the Olympiads disagrees with the traditional picture of the historical evolution which we find for instance in Bickermann's *Chronologie*¹ following Diels². Philistus, it is alleged, does give Olympic synchronisms; the institution of a certain contest in Magnesia on the Maeander is dated by a synchronism in respect of the Pythian and Olympic games. But the dating by means of Olympiads, so the current argument goes, becomes an era only through Timaeus or Eratosthenes, *i.e.* by their numbering of the Olympiads. As evidence the famous chronographic fragment of Eratosthenes³ is produced in which the distance from Lycurgus to the first Olympiad is indicated: ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ προηγούμενον ἔτος τῶν πρώτων διλημπίων ἐτῇ ἑκατὸν δικτό. The fact that here for the first time an epoch is mentioned has in the past led many to the conclusion that the numbering of the Olympiads had not started previously. The argument is unconvincing and the theory is wrong if the conjecture of Gavelius or Jacoby regarding the fragment of Philistus is accepted.

When the Olympiads are numbered, the use of the list of victors in the chronology is greatly simplified. There is no need for the elaborate description we find *e.g.* in Thucydides (V, 49, 1) a four-year orientation now being possible, that is if the list is available and ready for consultation (and if the epochal year [776] is known). For a more accurate indication within the four-year period a second number is required. The subdivision of the years in the numbered Olympiads is found in the later epigraphic material in the first century A. D. The subdivision evidently was borrowed from other systems. Linking Olympiads and Athenian archons for indicating the year has been applied most frequently. It probably was applied

¹ p. 34-35.

² *Hermes*, XXXVI, 1901, p. 72.

³ FGrHist, 241, fr. 1.

systematically in the Marmor Parium¹, but it was generally applied before then.

At first sight it seems strange that the far more suitable subdivision of the Olympiads in four years was not introduced from the beginning. It should be borne in mind that chronology did not depend on the perfection of one single system but on its being suitable for the Greek world. So long its efficiency depended on Athens' position (if not political, at all events its economic position which is far more important for a chronology than is usually realized, e.g. in the case of business agreements) the additional indication 'during X's archonship in Athens' is certainly more useful than a subdivision of the Olympiad. In other words, a combination of systems contributes to efficiency and intelligibility so long a chronology remains relative, which was the case in ancient Greece.

The evolution of dating according to Olympiads in the light of the above remarks may be said to have materialized in three stages:

a only the name of a victor was given. This is the phase of the Olympic chronology in Thucydides' time;

b the name of one certain victor (the *stadionikes*) is given and the Olympiad is numbered. These innovations were systematized by Hippias who just for that reason drew up his list. In our tradition we find this more complete indication possibly for the first time in Philistus;

c the Olympiads are numbered and subdivided in four years. This way of dating, the most efficient one from a modern standpoint, was not universally followed till the Roman period, but can be found for the first time in Fabius Pictor and probably goes back to Eratosthenes².

From *c* it appears that it takes time for a chronological method to find universal application. It would be unreasonable to believe that for the transition from *a* to *b*, the development would have been different. No doubt some form of Olympic

¹ Jacoby, FGrHist, II, p. 670. ² See p. 33, note 1.

dating preceded the systematizing of Hippias and it is an unproved and dangerous assumption that Olympic dates indicated in the manner mentioned under *b* cannot have occurred before Hippias.

In the struggle for the chronological pattern the list of *Olympionikai* plays an important part. There is no need to go once more into the details of the conflict concerning their reliability¹.

The following remarks only aim at enquiring in how far in pre-hellenistic chronology the list of the *Olympionikai* played a part in the struggle for the chronological pattern. Our examination may have some consequences for the modern discussion. If it should appear that in this struggle certain historic data were used which can only have been preserved in a list of the *Olympionikai* prior to the publication of the chronology of Hippias of Elis in the 'Ολυμπιονικῶν δινογραφή, then Jacoby's thesis (which is hardly more than a supposition) that the chronological lists were no more than plain catalogues of names without 'notes' of contemporary events would appear to be untenable.

The starting point for all scepticism with regard to Hippias' work is a passage in Plutarch's *Life of Numa*, 1, 6

¹ My impression is that at present modern scholars pay more attention to the criticism heralded by J. P. Mahaffy in 1882 (JHS, II, 1882, p. 164 ff.; *Problems in Greek history*, 1892, p. 217 ff.) and since then supported mainly by K. J. Beloch than was done a quarter of a century ago when the refutation of this criticism by A. Brinkmann (RM, LXX, 1915, p. 622 ff.) was regarded by many as adequate. The debate first of all was transferred from the list's authenticity to the serviceableness of its chronology (so with Th. Lenschau, Philol., XCI, 1936, p. 396 ff. and Jacoby, *Attis*, p. 58 and p. 281, note 43), but Jacoby also questions the authenticity by disputing the existence in Olympia of continuous lists kept by officials like priests. I believe that Jacoby has failed to substantiate his doubt and I agree with Gomme's criticism of Lenschau (*Comm.* I, p. 430). We do not need to rake up all the modern discussion which has been summarized by P. Moreaux, *Les listes anciennes des ouvrages d'Aristote*, 1951, p. 124.

(*FGHist.* 6, *fragm.* 2; 416, *fragm.* 3): τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρόνους ἔξαριθμους χαλεπόν ἔστι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἀναγομένους, ὃν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν δψέ φασιν Ἰππίαν ἐκδοῦναι τὸν Ἡλεῖον, ἀτ' οὐδενὸς δρμάμενον ἀναγκαῖον πρὸς πίστιν.

These words have led many to follow Mahaffy's example in regarding both the year of the institution of the Olympic games and the names of the victors as a scholarly construction of the sophist Hippias. Does Plutarch do more here than just reproducing a subjective opinion? The word *φασιν* might suggest this. I believe his words to be closely connected with the context and not to express a general opinion on the Ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἀναγραφή, but a 'Gelegenheitsurteil' (Brinkmann) on the subject under discussion, *i.e.* the time in which Numa is thought to have lived. We do not strain the text if we take the scepticism to refer to the dating of Numa's life¹. That Plutarch himself should have taken the matter very seriously, as is often assumed by modern commentators of this passage, is plainly refuted by his remarks elsewhere on chronology in which he was not greatly interested. The following statement is interesting (*Solon*, 27, 1):

Τὴν δὲ πρὸς Κροῖσον ἔντευξιν αὐτοῦ δοκοῦσιν ἔνιοι τοῖς χρόνοις ὡς πεπλασμένην ἔξελέγχειν. Ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον ἔνδοξον οὕτω καὶ τοσούτους μάρτυρας ἔχοντας καὶ, δι μεῖζόν ἔστι, πρέποντας τῷ Σόλωνος ήθει καὶ τῆς ἑκείνου μεγαλοφροσύνης καὶ σοφίας ἀξιον, οὐ μοι δοκῶ προήσεσθαι χρονικοῖς τισι λεγομένοις κανόσιν, οὓς μυρίοι διορθοῦντες ἄχρι σήμερον εἰς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς δρμολογούμενον δύνανται καταστῆσαι τὰς ἀντιλογίας.

In the *Syposiaka* (V, 2) Plutarch deals with the contents of the list purely as a historical fact: τοῖς δὲ Ὀλυμπίοις πάντα προσθήκη πλὴν τοῦ δρόμου γέγονε πολλὰ δὲ καὶ θέντες ἔπειτ' ἀνεῖλον, ὁσπερ τὸν τῆς κάλπης ἀγῶνα καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀπήνης ἀνηρέθη δὲ καὶ παισὶ πεντάθλοις στέφανος τεθεὶς καὶ δλως πολλὰ περὶ τὴν πανήγυριν νενεωτέρισται.

Aristotle whom he followed in his *Life of Lycurgus* linked

¹ Cf. Lehmann Haupt in *Gercke und Norden's Einl. in die Altertumswiss.*, III, 1912, p. 67.

the entire chronology of this legislator with the Olympic quoit which he looked upon as an object from the time when the games were reformed in the first year of the *Olympionikai*-list and to us the first year of Greek history, *viz.* 776. Plutarch certainly was often inconsistent but it seems absurd to believe that, while considering Aristotle's authority as supreme, he should have given his criticism in *Numa* 1, 6 a wider implication. Those who are in the habit of looking askance at Plutarch's statements opening with $\varphi\alpha\sigma\lambda\gamma$, suddenly show full confidence in the statement under discussion which offers a much wider scope for their critical activities by making the date 776 valueless and enabling them to pull down the entire system of Greek ancient history. This confidence is, however, unsound, first of all because they base it on a strained interpretation of the words in question which are given too wide an implication, and secondly because they overrate Plutarch's chronological statements.

When Plutarch is a reliable chronographer he has usually followed an authority of repute. In his choice he is rarely guided by chronological intuition¹, at best by common sense. An example of the latter is his following Aristotle in the dating of Lycurgus. But *Numa* 1, 6 is overrated when the remark there is given a universal application. None of Gomme's interpretations of this passage² seem to me acceptable: according to them Plutarch meant either that Hippias had no evidence for the order of the earliest names (no number of the Olympiad having been recorded) or only that *events dated* by his list were quite unreliable. We do not strain Plutarch's text if we believe him to reproduce here an opinion of historians whose only ground for criticism was the certainly unreliable date of Numa.

I have dwelt at some length on *Numa* 1, 6 as it is essential for our evaluation of the list of the *Olympionikai*: for further particulars I refer to Brinkmann's study mentioned above.

¹ One of these rare cases is *Them.* 27, 2. Cf. Gomme, *Comm.* I, p. 398.

² *Comm.* I, p. 429/30.

The following general conclusion may however be appended here. A forger has only limited possibilities, being unable to reckon in advance with the material that will be available to those who later will put his work to the test. Yet it seems that in the eyes of his critics Hippias has been such a prodigy.

a He is said to have seen to it that the names of the victors correspond with names current in the places where the victors were supposed to hail from. In view of the means of communication round the year 400 B.C. this seems quite an achievement, but let us admit the possibility.

b It is alleged that he took care to have the development of the games reflected in the places of origin of the victors and so to have gradually widened the geographical sphere of the games. This indeed, if forging is intended, seems rather simple.

c He had to link the object under *b* with a harder problem, *i.e.* in choosing his victors he had to take political and military history into account. The following example may illustrate this. In 736 the last Messenian victor is mentioned, in 716 the first Spartan one. This, according to modern critics, demonstrates that Hippias – it is not clear on what grounds – first dated the First Messenian War (736–716) and subsequently adapted the list to this.

On the subject of the disappearance of Messenian and the arrival of Spartan names Burn remarks: 'It is valuable as contemporary evidence, but only as giving us the opinion of the intelligent Hippias, who may indeed simply have arranged the early victors in an order consistent with his ideas on the probable date of the war' ¹. It does not say much for the intelligence of modern scholars that not till the beginning of the 19th century ² did they grasp Hippias' intention concerning

¹ *Dates in early Greek history*, JHS, LV, 1935, 130 ff. The sentence quoted is found on p. 144.

² K. O. Müller, *Die Dorier*. Bd II, p. 146, note 1, is credited with being the first to have made this discovery. So J. Kroymann in *Sparta und Messenien*, 1937, p. XIII. The discovery evidently fell into oblivion after him and was re-discovered and published in RM, XLXI, 1894 by J. Toepffer from whom Brinkmann (RM, LXX,

the geographical data of his list. It is even more deplorable that not till the close of this 19th century was it realized that Hippias' construction is chronologically worthless!

Yet these remarks are no refutation of Burn's words; we must apparently accept that Hippias concealed his artificial construction so well that for centuries the origin of the local indications remained undiscovered.

Criticism of hypercriticism should start with a remark of Beloch¹, the grand-master of hypercritics, that before Hippias there certainly existed lists of victors in Olympia. Hippias' study was based on archival material just like Aristotle's list of the *Pythionikai*.

It is reasonable to assume that these older lists contained particulars which Hippias used for drawing up his list. There is no ground for the belief that Hippias should first have come across the war between Sparta and Messenia, and only afterwards have made his list. The opposite is equally possible: the dating of the first Messenian war may have been based on the list.

Both cases, however, imply the assumption that the dating of the war and the list were related. I wish to emphasize this, as Jacoby persists in arguing that the list of Olympic victors was nothing more than a 'bare list', not mentioning historic events of a more general nature². But if Hippias is to be regarded as a recorder dating either the first Messenian war in accordance with the list or *vice versa*, then his list no longer is a mere list of names: it acquires the makings of a chronicle.

I believe the latter to be quite probable, more so indeed than Jacoby's theory. Hippias wished to draft a chronological system based on Olympiads³.

1915, p. 632) borrowed it. It has now found a place in many modern works: Wade-Gery inserted it in CAH III, p. 537 and Dunbabin supported it in his recent work *The Western Greeks*.

¹ *Griech. Gesch.*, I², 2, p. 151.

² Jacoby's idea of its evolution may be gathered from his *Attis*, p. 281, note 51.

³ For this purpose he needed a list of champions. He did not take

Considering the time at which Hippias appears it is clear that attempts like those of Charon and Hellanicus preceded him. The lists of these chroniclers, too, served a wider purpose than that of providing a complete list of names; they, too, were more than 'bare lists'. The drawing up of the list obviously must precede the arranging of the events in the pattern, but it is contrary to reason to regard lists and events as separate items. On the contrary, usually the list determined the events, sometimes the opposite is the case, and this implies that a mere list of names does not exist.

Burn's remark (and there are many similar ones in modern literature) is very elucidating. Its positive side makes it clear that bare lists do not exist (and as such it supports our opposition against Jacoby), and negatively its purport is that with regard to the chronographer's method it starts from the exception and states: first there was a chronology for the first Messenian war and afterwards the list was drawn up. The method was just the reverse, although certain events may have influenced the insertion in the list of the chief characters. In *Chronika* however the chronological pattern ranks first.

d The most impossible feat expected of Hippias has been disclosed by modern archaeological research, which, to say the least of it, has confirmed the relative chronology of the dates of the founding of many Greek colonies in Italy and Sicily. In this relative chronology, dating on the basis of Olympiads played an important part. These foundations date back far beyond Hippias' time. I do not think it likely that Hippias or his successors fixed the foundation dates according to Olympiads in the absence of a written tradition. The arguments summarized by Dunbabin suggest a written tradition, be it ever so deficient in the beginning¹. In any case, its

the easy way but took all the victors into consideration, not confining himself to the *stadionikai*.

¹ *The Western Greeks*, 1948, p. 448. The sound critical remarks of R. M. Cook (CR, 1949, p. 113-116) and F. Villard (*Gnomon* XXV, 1953, p. 9-14) do not refer to the relative chronology.

deficiency did not prevent Thucydides from relying on it (VI, 3) and the modern historian should watch his step before setting out to be more critical than Thucydides. If archaeology confirms that nearly always the relative chronology of the foundation dates is in order, it implies that Hippias or the Hellenistic chronographers – who are supposed to have lacked written sources and obviously were unable to employ oral tradition for the purpose of comparing the foundation dates – had a prophetic intuition of what archaeologists were to discover in the 19th and 20th century of our era. For the time being we shall be well advised to exclude the blessings of prophecy from the domain of history. Hippias the sophist certainly was not so blessed¹.

That Hippias was not a prodigy who advocated a personal and independent system is also shown by the fact that he, an Elean native, took the very list kept at Olympia in Elis as a starting point for the chronology. We find here the same patriotic element that inspired Hellanicus when he published the list of Victors at the Carnea for the greater glory of Lesbos.

As far as Thucydides is concerned, he is certain to have set great store by the traditional dates for the founding of the western colonies. It is, however, not likely that he knew these dates through the lists of Olympiads² and it is therefore advisable to enquire whether on other occasions he uses particulars of a dating according to Olympiads. On p. 42 we stated that on two occasions he links an event with Olympic dates (III, 8; V, 49, 1), but it is not certain whether he borrowed these particulars from Hippias or found them in an older list also known to Hippias³. As an example of what had already

¹ In connection with this point *d* I take it, on the strength of my remarks under *c*, that Hippias already mentioned these foundation dates.

² See K. J. Dover, *La colonizzazione della Sicilia in Tucidide*, Maia VI, 1953, p. 1–20.

³ Cf. Gomme *Commentary*, I, p. 2–3. Gomme evidently shares my view that the existence of bare lists without notes in the shape of a chronicle is very doubtful. 'A summary history of a state.... could

been done before Thucydides Gomme mentions the Priestesses of Hera and the *Karneonikai* 'and perhaps the Olympic Victors by Hippias' ¹.

There, however, still is another passage which should not be neglected in a discussion of Thucydides and the Olympic era, as it is used against the authenticity of the Olympic dates. In Thuc. I, 6, 5 we find the following: τὸ δὲ πόλλα καὶ τὸ ὅλη πολιτικῷ ἀγῶνι διαζώματα ἔχοντες περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα οἱ ἀθληταὶ ἡγωνίζοντο, καὶ οὐ πόλλα ἐτη ἐπειδὴ πέπαυται.

The scholiast offers the story that Orsippus of Megara was the runner who first cast his loin-cloth in the race at the 15th Olympiad (720 B.C.) ². Viewed from the standpoint of Thucydides' time it would be strange indeed to speak of οὐ πόλλα ἐτη ἐπειδὴ πέπαυται. Plato, too, says that 'not so long ago' Greeks regarded it as disgraceful and ridiculous if men appeared nude (Resp. 452 C); this statement too could hardly refer to 720 B.C.

Orsippus is known by something else. He was a commander of the Megarians against the Corinthians and an inscription kept alive the memory of this successful campaign ³. The inscription was composed of a six-lined epigram attributed to Simonides. But his authorship hardly agrees with the early date for Orsippus.

For all these reasons the passage from Thucydides is said be given in chronicle form. This valuable work was continued throughout the fourth century but much of it had already been done before Thucydides had completed his history of the Archidamian war (whenever that was').

¹ Jacoby's theory that prior to Herodotus only oral tradition existed also applies to the list of Athenian archons. Before *Aththis* was published Gomme already rightly modified a statement by Jacoby in *Klio*, 1909, in this way: 'that the archon's name was preserved not in the memory of Athenians but in the record' (*Comm.* I, 3, note 1, in connection with Herodotus VIII, 51, 1: Καλλιάδεω ἄρχοντος, the date of Xerxes' arrival in Attica).

² Cf. Gomme, *Comm.*, *ad loc.*

³ Pausanias (I, 44, 1) had still seen the original. Cf. Hicks and Hill, no. 1, an inscription from a copy of it from Hadrian's time.

to prove that the list of Olympiads and the corresponding dating are wrong¹. In my view the solution of our problem was long ago offered by Böckh² who is backed by Brinkmann³: 'Potius inde ab Orsippo cursores deposuerant subligacula, retinuerant ceteri athletae quibus id minus incommodum erat ut luctatores, pugiles: hi paulo ante Thucydideam aetatem et ipsi abiecerunt'. If this statement is correct, how are we to interpret Plato's words and the epigram both appearing centuries after Orsippus? I believe Plato's words to refer to the general custom prevailing at the time when for all branches of sport nudity was regarded as regular. If Simonides were the author of the epigram (a thing far from certain) nothing prevents us from assuming that he produced the poem in honour of Orsippus at the time that all athletes were permitted to appear in the nude, an event which focussed the attention on Orsippus, the first nude athlete. The epigram itself says that the monument was made on an order from Delphi. This implies that it was not built (and that the poem was not made) as a spontaneous response of the community to the martial exploit. It ends up with mentioning Orsippus' performance at Olympia, although it does not overlook his war record. There is nothing against regarding the establishment of the general rule concerning nudity at the Olympic sports as the occasion prompting the writing of this poem.

If this view is correct then Thucydides' words may not be adduced against the authenticity of the list.

It is uncertain whether Thucydides in using the words *οὐ πόλλας ἔτη ἐπειδὴ πέπαυται* bases this statement on an existing Olympic list. I do not think this probable, neither for the vague dating of the general rule mentioned, and even less so for the date of Orsippus' victory. But the author of the epi-

¹ Gomme, too, admits: 'It is probable that Ol. 15 is a mistake and that a shorter interval elapsed between Orsippus' lifetime and Simonides' epigram'.

² *KI. Schr.* IV, p. 173, spec. p. 178.

³ RM, LXX, 1915, p. 626.

gram must have known the latter for a fact. Of course, for him it might have been an oral tradition but the authority of Delphi gave the epigram a more official character. I am therefore inclined to believe that the poet knew a list. This is all the more probable if Simonides – who is our earliest authority for Lycurgus' pedigree – was the poet. Orsippus' military feat also agrees well with the time in which the date of his victory is placed (720 B.C.). The founding of Megara Hyblaea in 728/7, *i.e.* prior to Orsippus' success, may be interpreted as the result of distressing circumstances causing part of the population to emigrate. Later Megarian settlements were eastwards; they were evidently the result of commercial expansion (Chalcedon in the 25th Olympiad, Byzantium in the 30th). No doubt there is something arbitrary in attributing the founding of a city now to economic depression, now to increasing prosperity, but in the present case the name is significant. In Western Megara colonists gave their new settlement this name because necessity drove them to make a new home. They did not go voluntarily and looked back wistfully to what they left behind. Hence the name chosen for their settlement. The colonists at Chalcedon and Byzantium, so I presume, were not familiar with this state of mind. However, I do not wish to press the point. The main thing is that in Megara's history there is to our knowledge nothing inconsistent with the appearance of Orsippus in the last quarter of the eighth century.

CHAPTER III

AN ATTEMPT AT COMBINATION OF ERAS: PHEIDON OF ARGOS

The chronology of the life of historic figures from the archaic period shows, I believe, that already before the days of the Hellenistic chronographers eras were intermingled and attempts at coordination were made.

Striking evidence of the struggle for the chronological pattern is the dating of Pheidon of Argos¹.

Genealogical chronology has three dates for Pheidon, wide apart. Two of these were current in the fourth century. Theopompus gives Pheidon the seventh place after Temenus, the founder of Argos². According to genealogical tradition this brings the date at 900 B.C. According to Ephorus Pheidon is the tenth descendant of Temenus³, which puts him in the middle of the eighth century⁴. The third date is based on our oldest source for Pheidon, Herodotus, VI, 127, stating that Pheidon's son was one of the suitors of Agariste, the daughter of Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, who is generally placed *ca* 600 B.C. Other data besides Herodotus' genealogical

¹ Recent studies after the summary by Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, I², 2, p. 195 ff. are: A. R. Burn in JHS, LV, 1935, p. 130; T. Lenschau in Philol., XCI, 1936 and in Pauly-Wissowa s.v. (1939). — D. W. Bradeen, *The Lelantine war and Pheidon of Argos*, TAPA, 78, 1947, p. 223 ff. — Andrewes, *The Corinthian Actaeon and Pheidon of Argos*, CQ, XLIII, 1949, p. 70 ff. — W. L. Brown, *Pheidon's alleged Aeginetan coinage*, Num. Chron., 6th Series, nos. 39–40, 1950, p. 177 ff. (On the 'invention' of coins, weights and measures attributed to Pheidon cf. Kleinguenther, Πρᾶτος Εὔρετής, *Zur Geschichte einer Fragestellung*, Philol. Suppl. 26, Heft 1, 1933, p. 24). — A recent summary by M. Th. Mitsos, *Prosopographia Argolica* (Bibl. of the Athenian Arch. Society, 36, 1952), s.v.

² FGrHist, 115, fr. 393. ³ FGrHist, 70, fr. 115.

⁴ So Apollodorus has the years 785/4–739/8, cf. FGrHist, 244, fr. 62.

information will be discussed later, the main point now being that his story, though not explicitly, gives a date connected with the tyrants of Sicyon.

Now Pheidon plays a part in the history of the Olympic games. This is not connected with any sports event, which though spectacular is an everyday affair paling before Pheidon's achievement. Pheidon has won fame as the disturber of the general truce that was customary between the Peloponnesian states during an Olympic year. Through his action on behalf of the Pisatans against the citizens of Elis, who were accustomed to arrange the games, the Pisatans became the organizers. These games were not recognized and the Eleans called them *Anolympiad*¹. Africanus in *Eusebius Chron.* I, 196 declares that these events occurred on the occasion of the 28th Olympiad (668 B.C.). This agrees very well with Strabo's comment (VIII, 355) on the Olympiads of the Pisatans, although he and Strabo differ on details. According to Strabo the first 26 Olympiads were celebrated under the direction of Elis (776-676) followed by a Pisatan interlude of indefinite duration. Africanus calls the first Pisatan Olympiad the 28th, followed by a continuous Pisatan interlude from *OI.30-OI.52* (660-572). It is quite possible to combine these sources for our purpose. Both data place Pheidon's famous march on Olympia and his interference in the organization of the games in 668.

Strabo's and Africanus' data can, however, not be reconciled with Pausanias' information. According to the latter the 8th, 34th and 104th Olympiads were not recognized by the Eleans and were looked upon as *Anolympiads*. The first two of these *Anolympiads* were caused by a temporary supremacy of Pisa, the first by Pheidon's action, the other by the energetic king of Pisa, Pantaleon. The 104th Olympiad is said to have been organized by the Pisatans together with the Arcadians. There is no further evidence of Pisa's dominion over Elis, the opposite is rather the case. Pisa's downfall is

¹ *Paus.* VI, 22, 2; *FGrHist*, 416, fr. 7.

mentioned: after the 48th Olympiad (558 B.C.) Damophon, Pantaleon's son, caused the Eleans to suspect him of having some designs against them; but when they launched an army against the land of Pisa he prevailed upon them by supplications and oaths to go back peacefully. Under his brother and successor Pyrrhus the Pisatans tried in vain to secede from Elis. This passage shows Elis to have been regarded as the more powerful of the two.

So the whole tenor of Pausanias' story differs from Strabo's and Africanus' data. Pausanias' date of the Anolympiad caused by Pheidon clashes with both the other sources. According to him this was the 8th Olympiad (748 B.C.). Attempts have been made to reconcile the dates for the Olympiads according to these three sources by altering Pausanias' text, reading 28 for 8¹. Apart from the fact that this emendation is offered *pour le besoin de la cause* and therefore cannot be very convincing, the main objection to these attempts at smoothing out the differences lies in the remaining divergence between Pausanias' account of the relations between Pisa and Elis and that of the two other sources, particularly where the power of the two states is concerned. Pausanias maintains that Elis' hegemony over Olympia was seldom interrupted and that Elis took the lead in the struggle with Pisa, whereas according to Strabo and Africanus Pisa for a lengthy period dominated Elis to the extent of taking complete control of the games.

Attempts to decide which of the dates should be preferred will be vain so long as these chronological data cannot be linked together. However, a relation between them may be discovered without the expedient of glossing over the differences. Various passages quoted in support indicate a conflict between the chroniclers who regard Pheidon's chronology as important and those who give first place to his connection with Olympia. The former place him in the beginning of the

¹ Falconer, Weissenborn, Fotheringham. Cf. Macan *ad Herodot.*, VI, 127.

ninth, the latter in the second quarter of the seventh century, which makes a difference of two centuries. The cause of these differences is obscure. In view of the unreliability of the genealogical chronology, particularly when it is purely local (which was probably the case with the catalogue of Argos' kings), there are unlimited possibilities¹.

These glaring discrepancies must have been patent already in ancient times. They induced Ephorus to attempt a reconciliation of the data along genealogical lines. He was not quite successful but he managed to reduce the difference between the genealogical data of Argos and the Olympic data to less than one hundred years. I would credit him with the invention of the dating in the eighth Olympiad. Later this reconstruction found its way into Pausanias, combined with a record of the struggle between Pisa and Elis which deviated from the version current elsewhere. If this is a correct guess, then we might proceed further and perhaps find the source from which the traditional account of this inter-state conflict sprang. I believe the source to lie in Elis, where in the course of time the humiliation of the Pisatan interlude was reduced to a minimum. Some ignominious facts could not be glossed over and the notorious Olympiad of 668 was one of them, its tradition evidently being too strong. Pausanias' Elean tradition therefore mentions Pheidon's interference.

The so-called emendation of Pausanias' text, then, is not required but is no more than an ill-advised modern attempt at inverted harmony. The course followed by Pausanias' source mainly reconciled the Olympic year (the 28th) with genealogy, whereas modern scholars take the opposite direc-

¹ Since the publication of the Nemean inscription by Blegen (AJA, XXXI, 1927, 452/3. Cf. M. F. McGregor, *Cleisthenes of Sicyon and the Panhellenic Festivals*, TAPA, LXXII, 1941, p. 266 ff.) the possibility of confusing various bearers of the name Pheidon is no longer so absurd as it once seemed (cf. p. 60), but I am not prepared to explain a Pheidon of Argos in the beginning of the 9th century on this basis.

tion by reconciling the result obtained by Pausanias' source with the original Olympic dating.

If the above reconstruction of the tradition is correct it allows of still another conclusion. Connecting Pheidon with the 28th Olympiad comes to provide the oldest information that this method of dating was applied not only to the names of victors but to other events as well. Our reconstruction implies that such was the case even before Ephorus. It made him draft anew Pheidon's genealogy and, by inserting a number of generations (of 33½ years?), lower his date by more than a century. Pheidon's dating in the 28th Olympiad was effected before Ephorus independently of genealogy. Hippias' name is mostly referred to in this connection. There is nothing against assuming that it is based on an ancient tradition regarding the list of victors itself, which possibly mentioned Pheidon's forceful interference. The very fact that the dating in 668 B.C. does not seem to be corroborated by the other chronological systems in my opinion proves the uniqueness of this date, which remained undisputed till Ephorus started on his chronology and till Elis' chauvinism attempted to deny the historicity of the Pisatan interlude. The result of the combination of Ephorus' harmonizing reconstruction and this chauvinism is to be found in Pausanias.

Pausanias who is far from dependable in chronological matters placed (II, 24, 7) the battle at Hysiae when Sparta was defeated by Argos in 669/8. With his customary lack of method he probably borrowed this information from a chronological system which dated the Anolympiad in 668, the first year of Argos' actual hegemony over the Peloponnese¹.

Finally we come to the data in Herodotus whose dating differs completely from those discussed above. According to him Leocedes, son of Pheidon of Argos, was one of the suitors of Agariste, daughter of Cleisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon.

¹ Cf. Andrewes, *loc. cit.* Wade-Gery offers the attractive but bold suggestion that the *gymnopaediae* were instituted after this Spartan defeat with the object of propitiating the gods (CQ, XLIII, 1949, p. 79-81).

She married the Athenian Megacles, an Alcmaeonid. The marriage cannot have been later than the eighties of the sixth century. A son of the marriage was Cleisthenes, the Athenian legislator. There is no doubt that Herodotus refers to the famous Pheidon of Argos, for he mentions his activity in Olympia. The translation of *παῖς* by 'descendant' is an extreme expedient only to be resorted to when no other means are available, but this is not the case.

Until recently the solution favoured by Lehmann Haupt and others that the reference is to two different bearers of the name Pheidon was discarded as unsatisfactory. I believe that this disapproval may disappear in the face of the inscription of Nemea discovered in 1926 as a result of the excavations by the University of Cincinnati. It runs as follows:

'Αριστὶς με ἀνέθηκε Διὶ Ορονίον Φάνακτι
Πανκράτιον νιγδὸν τετράκις ἐν Νεμέᾳ
Φειδόνος Φηίδης τῷ Κλεοναίο.

The inscription dates from the 6th century. As the Nemean games were instituted in 573 the inscription cannot be older than 567, for if Aristis actually won four victories in the biennial Nemean games this could not have been possible before 567¹. The inscription shows that at the time of Agariste's marriage there was a Pheidon of Cleonae. This place was under strong influence from Argos.

In view of this inscription I am inclined to regard the assumption that Herodotus was deceived by a name notoriously connected with the great Argive tyrant as not altogether improbable. In that case Pheidon, father of Leocedes, is not the same as the great tyrant of Argos who controlled the Peloponnese. Confusion was greatly increased because Leocedes' father also was a prominent figure. This may be gathered from the tradition which credits Pheidon with the invention of coinage in Greece (at Aegina). Brown studied this tradition and concluded on good grounds that the first

¹ Cf. McGregor, *loc. cit.*

Aeginetan coins date from the last decade of the 7th century¹. Brown now follows Lenschau's dating of Pheidon of Argos (a dating in which Lenschau stands alone and which is rightly rejected by Gomme) and makes Pheidon live in the third quarter of the 7th century. Brown admits that at that time Argos cannot have ruled over Aegina, but does not question the intention of the old sources to connect the great Pheidon of Argos with Aegina. If there were two Pheidons, then possibly Leocedes' father, a well-to-do Peloponnesian gentleman and not necessarily ruler over Argos, was closely connected with Aegina and from that island handled his commercial enterprises. In the days of Pheidon of Argos, for whom the dating of the 28th Olympiad appears to be the only definite point, coinage is out of the question. Wade-Gery attempted to interpret the Perachora inscription (dated between 750 and 650) as a votive inscription relating to the offering of the ancient 'money' consisting of iron ὅβελοι. The offering is thought to be a form of demonetizing of the iron ὅβελοι on the occasion of the introduction of minted money by Pheidon. Even if the reconstruction and the translation of the inscription are accepted some difficulties remain unsolved. The inscription runs:

δραχμα εγο ἡρα λευ[ο]λενε κειμαι εν αυ]λαι

'I, a drachma, o white-armed Hera, have been deposited in the courtyard'.

Brown rightly points out that both the ideas of withdrawing from circulation and of demonetizing are anachronistic. If the consecration of the ὅβελοι has any historical meaning at all, it proves that they still represented money and that coined money was still an unknown thing. If we take into consideration the last possible dating given to this inscription by the archaeologists, *viz.* 650, and also the dating

¹ *Num. Chron.* 1950, supported by E. S. G. Robinson, *Coins from the Ephesian Artemision*, JHS, LXXI, 1951, p. 156–167, spec. p. 166. Cf. G. R. Jenkins, *Greek Numismatics 1940–1950*, Historia II, 1953, p. 214–226, spec. p. 215.

of Pheidon of Argos in the only not too uncertain year 668, then it seems very likely that the tyrant of Argos lived in a time when coined money was unknown. This is quite different in the case of the Pheidon referred to by Herodotus. When we are dealing with the chronological problems connected with the relations between Olympic and genealogical dating, which are sufficiently complicated in themselves, he should be eliminated¹. Herodotus' confusion had important consequences. His reference to the μέτρα Φειδώνια was elaborated by Ephorus and linked with the tradition that the Peloponnesian coinage and measures were Aeginetan².

Attempts have not been wanting to utilize the scanty data about the political and military history of the eighth and seventh century for the dating of Pheidon of Argos. I mentioned already the significance attributed in this connection to the battle of Hysiae. In the article mentioned above Bradeen tried to establish a connection between Pheidon and the Lelantine war. Both his results and those obtained by Andrewes agree well with the above reconstruction of the conflict in chronology. They both arrive, by different routes, at the same conclusion to which our examination led us: Pheidon of Argos ruled over the Peloponnese in the first half of the seventh century. The keystone for the dating of his reign and his activities is the 28th Olympiad. But there was to be a hard fight before dating according to Olympiads, here employed incidentally and as a result of Pheidon's radical action, could supersede the genealogical chronology. For the supporters of the latter method, however, the persistence of the

¹ The second Pheidon's relation to Aegina is unknown. J. C. Milne (*The economic policy of Solon*, *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 230-245) has this attractive theory: We know that in the 7th century Aegina for some time had a monopoly of overseas trade. Very likely Pheidon (to Milne this is the tyrant of Argos, not Herodotus' Pheidon) had his money minted there. He draws a parallel with the countries which during the last world war had their money minted in London.

² FGrHist, 70, fr. 176 and Jacoby's *Comm.*, IIC, p. 86.

unusual dating of Pheidon's action in Olympia held a warning. It appeared now that a chronological pattern was possible without reconstructing genealogies and that under favourable circumstances (*in casu* Pheidon's spectacular action) it could be maintained independently of current genealogies. The attack so made on the genealogical chronology is clearly demonstrated by Ephorus' attempt at reconciliation revealed by Pausanias' dating Pheidon's action at the time of the eighth Olympiad. It should also be noted that Aristotle evidently supports the dating of Pheidon in connection with the 28th Olympiad as he mentions Pheidon among a group of *older* tyrants. Of the younger ones he mentions Panaetius, Cypselus and Peisistratus¹.

Herodotus' datings are more often based on contamination of widely divergent data. In the present case of Pheidon it is the similarity of names which causes him to assimilate two figures, the tyrant of Argos and the father of Leocedes. In the case of the Cypselid Periander the error is not so easily explained. On the rule of Cypselus and the Cypselids in Corinth the non-Herodotean traditions agree: Cypselus *ca* 657/627, Periander *ca* 627/587, Psammetichus *ca* 587/4².

According to III, 48 Herodotus' account of the conflicts between Sparta and Samos in 524, those events took place under Periander, one generation previously. If a generation is equal to 35 (or 33½) years Periander is supposed to have lived in 560 when he actually had been gone for more than a quarter of a century. Beloch and Lenschau reject the uniform tradition of the other sources and keep to Herodotus' dating³. This gives for the three tyrants mentioned the years 612/584,

¹ Polit. 1310b, 19 and 27.

² Cf. Aristot. Polit. 1315 b, 22; Diodorus VII, 9, 2/5 (going back to Apollodorus), Diog. Laert. I, 95 (going back to Sosicrates); Nicol. Damasc., FGrHist, 90, fr. 57 ff., agreeing partly with Herodotus V, 92 and at least not contradicted by Ephorus, FGrHist, 70, fr. 178.

³ For Lenschau see Philol., XCI, 1936, p. 288 ff.

584/544 and 544/541. Why all other literary sources¹ from Aristotle until the chronographers of the third century of our era should have been mistaken remains unexplained. On the other hand, can we explain Herodotus' error? As I see it, there are two possibilities. The first one is offered by Van Groningen: 'The case is perhaps that Herodotus regarded Periander as a contemporary of Solon, both belonging to the Seven Sages whilst Solon is said to be a contemporary of Croesus (I, 29, 1)'². I prefer not to suspect Herodotus of confusing persons but to seek the solution in the word γενεὴ which here probably stands for a generation of 100 years. (cf. p. 68 and p. 88). If Herodotus or his source used the term γενεὴ πρότερον for a period of 100 years, it brings us up to the time of Periander's entrance upon his office. If this explanation is correct, then Plutarch, when he related his story, already replaced the one γενεὴ by three and so restored the meaning of the word current with Herodotus³. It goes without saying that any alteration in Herodotus' text which on the example of Plutarch makes it refer to three generations is an unwarranted palliative.

¹ H. R. W. Smith's archaeological arguments in favour of the low chronology (Univ. of California Publications in class. Arch., Vol. I, nr. 10, 1944) are ingenious but unconvincing.

The disappearance of Corinthian pottery cannot be connected with the end of the Cypselids dated *ca* 550, as Late Corinthian vases continued to be made till after 530 (L. Quarles van Ufford, *De Chronologie van de Grieksche Kunst gedurende de 6de en 7de eeuw*, IV: *De Indeling van de Korinthische vazen*, Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering van de kennis der antieke beschaving, XVIII, 1943, 1-11). Moreover, if in Corinth the dynastic catastrophe was responsible for the ceramic catastrophe, why neither at Sparta nor at Argos did political troubles accompany the disappearance of the national pottery? Here as well as in Corinth nearly at the same time Attic vases were imported and imitated because of their superior quality. This is in my opinion the sole reason why Corinthian vases had to make place for Attic pottery all over the Greek world.

² Commentary *Herodotus' Historiën*, III, 1946, p. 236.

³ De Malign. Herod., 22.

CHAPTER IV

RECONCILING METHODS OF DATING: KING THEOPOMPUS

King Theopompus the Eurypontid, mentioned by name by the poet Tyrtaeus (fr. 4 D) in connection with the conquest of Messenia, has in ancient times been dated in various ways¹. It was the verses of Tyrtaeus which made him a central figure in the schedules of the old chronographers and at the same time a challenge to modern scholars who, very ingeniously, but rarely with conviction, arrange and confront the ancient datings.

§ 1. DATING ACCORDING TO THE SPARTAN LIST OF KINGS

Our best plan is to refer to our oldest source, Herodotus. In VII, 204 and VIII, 131, 2 he gives the genealogy of Leonidas and Leotychidas, *i.e.* of the Agiads and the Eurypontids. The following list contains the names of the kings and the years according to the counting by generations of 40 years in the form in which it was probably used by Hecataeus².

Heracles	(1330)	
Hyllus	(1290)	
Cleodaeus	(1250)	
Aristomachus	(1210)	
Aristodemus	(1170)	
Eurysthenes	1130	Procles
Agis	1090	Eurypon
Echestratus	1050	Prytanis

¹ datings are given in Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, I, p. 589, A. 4. Cf. Poralla, *Prosopographie der Lakedaimonier*, 1913, pp. 63, 153.

² It should be noted that in Herodotus' phase of chronology at least in the data he provides, a definite duration of a generation is not included.

Leobotes	1010	Polydectes
Doryssus	970	Eunomus
Agesilaus	930	Charilaus
Archelaus	890	Nicander
Telecles	850	Theopompus
Alcamenes	810	Anaxandridas
Polydorus	770	Archidamus
Euryocrates	730	Anaxilaus
Anaxander	690	Leotychidas
Eurycratidas	650	Hippocratidas
Leon	610	Agesilaus
Anaxandridas	570	Menares
Leonidas	530	Leotychidas

In this schedule Theopompus is placed at 850–810. Various chronographers made alterations in this catalogue, a summary of which is given i.a. by Poralla¹.

We are not concerned with these alterations, as our only object is to use the dating of Theopompus as an illustration of the struggle for a pattern to fix historic events.

For this reason, apart from Theopompus' place in the Eurypontid list, part of this genealogy giving Theopompus' descendants in another line is of importance. Leotychidas succeeded Demaratus. The latter was a lineal descendant from Theopompus but his rights were successfully questioned by his enemies. Herodotus gives the genealogy of the collateral branch, Pausanias provides the list of Demaratus' ancestors (III, 7, 5).

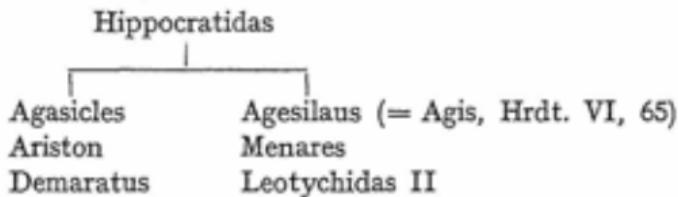
Herodotus VIII, 131	Pausanias III, 7, 5
Theopompus	Theopompus
Anaxandridas	Archidamus
Archidamus	Zeuxidamus
Anaxilaus	Anaxidamus
Leotychidas	Archidamus
Hippocratidas	Agasicles

¹ *op. cit.*, p. 151.

Agesilaus
Menares
Leotychidas

Ariston
Demaratus

But Herodotus spoils this picture by his remark that only two direct ancestors of Leotychidas, his father Menares and his grandfather Agesilaus, were not kings, whereas the others were. This places the modern investigator before the dilemma of either accepting Herodotus and rejecting Pausanias, or the reverse. Attempts have not been wanting to reconcile both statements. The favoured one is an alteration in Herodotus' text (ζ' in stead of β') bringing the number of non-rulers from two to seven, which is needed to reconcile Herodotus' text with Pausanias' list of names. It is not surprising that many balk at such a drastic alteration in Herodotus' text in favour of a much later tradition¹. An attractive suggestion which comes from G. Dum², makes the splitting of the two branches take place after Hippocratidas. The reconstructed picture is then as follows:



The suggestion has been adopted by Poralla and others after him including Kroymann³.

What remains unexplained is: *a* the absence of Anaxandridas in Pausanias' list, and *b* the appearance of the names Zeuxidamus, Anaxidamus and Archidamus in that list. Attempts at reconciling these anomalies are connected with the appreciation of other systems dating Theopompos. It is worth while to examine these systems in the first place.

In my view – I am anticipating – none of these solutions

¹ So Beloch in *Hermes*, XXXV, 1900, p. 254 ff.

² *Spart. Königslisten*, 1878.

³ In a 'Beilage' with his *Pausanias und Rhianos*, 1943.

or explanations is satisfactory because already in antiquity no generally accepted reconciliation of these systems was attained.

Yet Herodotus' statement that all the persons included in Leotychidas II's genealogy were kings except the two first ones ($\piλῆν τῶν δυῶν τῶν μετὰ Λευτυχίδεα πρώτων καταλεχθέντων$), *viz.* Menares and Agesilaus, may, I believe, be explained in a different way. I start again from the word $\gammaενεὴ$ denoting a period of 100 years. On the presumption that Herodotus heard from his informant that Leotychidas' lineal ancestors had not ruled 'for two $\gammaενεῖ$ ' and that he interpreted this information as 'during two generations of kings', it is quite feasible that in his work he wrote instead of 'two generations of kings' 'the two first mentioned (*viz.* in the list) after Leotychidas'. His informant presumably spoke of 200 years, *i.e.*, according to the Spartan computation on the basis of generations, five times 40 years, that means five persons. These five then are Anaxilaus, Leotychidas I, Hippocratidas, Agesilaus and Menares. The only remaining difference between Pausanias and Herodotus lies in the fact that Pausanias does not mention Theopompus' successor in Herodotus' list, Anaxandridas. We shall have to search for a motive for leaving Anaxandridas out in Pausanias' system. Even if this could not be found, it would not conflict with this explanation of Herodotus VIII, 131, 3, because the explanation is based on Herodotus himself and leaves Pausanias out of account. The fact that the sixth ancestor of both kings Demaratus and Leotychidas II is the same in both genealogies, *viz.* Archidamus, incidentally lends particular support to our conjecture; but it is of even greater importance that this interpretation is in close agreement with the use of the word $\gammaενεὴ$ in two other passages in Herodotus, as has already been pointed out (II, 145, 4 and III, 48, 1). If our interpretation is correct, the confusions in the genealogical chronology are strikingly illustrated by these three examples:

II, 145, 4: 5 times 35 is confused with 7 times 25.

III, 48, 1: the γενεὴ of unspecified duration (probably the γενεὴ of Herodotus' own computation, i.e. 33½ year) is confused with the 100 year γενεὴ.

VIII, 131, 3: twice 100 is confused with 5 times 40.

Beloch's objection (*loc. cit.*) against seven generations may also be raised against five, albeit to a smaller degree. Beloch regards it as inconceivable that Leotychidas belonged to a collateral branch which for seven generations had not been in power, as this would imply that each Eurypontid ruling after Theopompus had only one male descendant, which would make it necessary after Demaratus' dethronement to fall back on a collateral line which had branched off seven generations earlier. I do not regard this as a serious objection, less so since the seven generations have been reduced to five. In view of the Spartan population policy as we know it from later periods, limitation of the family to the one son is very plausible. I find in Beloch's conclusion which he regards as unacceptable a support for my conjecture. If this is correct it proves once more that in the counting of the Spartan kings by generations a duration of 40 years served as a standard, which places Theopompus according to the Kings' List in the years 850/810.

§ 2. DATING ACCORDING TO THE OLYMPIC ERA AND TYRTAEUS

Theopompus, apart from figuring in the Spartan list of kings, is also connected with the list of Olympic victors, although he is not mentioned by name. After the eleventh Olympiad (736) the list holds no more Messenian victors. This led some scholars to the conclusion that after that date the Messenians had run into trouble, and on this basis they regard the year mentioned as the beginning of the first Messenian war. It is, however, also possible to hold Hippias of Elis responsible, who, according to tradition, drew up the Ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἀναγραφή. It would seem, then, that Hippias considerably underrated his successors, for not till the nineteenth century did a modern scholar recognize his indirect dating of the Messenian war! (cf. p. 48 *supra*).

In my view the tradition which lies at the back of Hippias' statement was a very ancient one, already reflected in Tyrtaeus' verses:

ἡμετέρῳ βασιλῆι, θεοῖσα φίλῳ Θεοπόμπῳ,
διὰ διὰ Μεσσήνην εἶλομεν εὐρύχορον.

Dating of the conquest attributed by Tyrtaeus to Theopompus must be based on the date of Tyrtaeus himself¹.

This date is roughly speaking the middle of the seventh century. The following verses which are part of the same fragment make it possible to date the conquest of the Messenian land or of its chief stronghold:

ἀμφ' αὐτὴν δ' ἐμάχοντ' ἐννεακαῖδεκ' ἔτη
νωλεμέως αἰεὶ, ταλασίφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
αἰχμηταὶ πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες·
εἰκοστῷ δ' οὐ μὲν κατὰ πίστα έργα λιπόντες
φεῦγον Ἰθωμαίων ἐκ μεγάλων ὁρέων.

Here three dates are given:

a the battle for an unspecified town or country lasted nineteen years,

b the battle raged, as the poet puts it, during our father's father's lifetime, *i.e.* two generations ago,

¹ The following remarks are based on the poet's traditional dating. Attempts of modern critics to question this dating in the middle of the seventh century have failed. The most radical of these attempts is by Ed. Schwartz in *Hermes*, XXXIV, 1899. Cf. H. Weil, *Les élégies de Tyrtaïs*, *Journ. des savants*, 1899, septembre, p. 553, ff. who conclusively refutes Schwartz's opinion on the poet's dating shortly after Schwartz's sensational article appeared. Weil's article was later republished in his *Etudes sur l'antiquité grecque*, 1900, p. 193 ff. Amongst the modern views which again agree with the accepted dating of the poet are: W. Jaeger, *Tyrtaios über die wahre Arete* (Sitz.-Ber. Berl. Akad., 1932). — C. M. Bowra, *Early Greek Elegists*, 1938, p. 33 ff. — H. L. Lorimer, *The hoplite phalanx, with special reference to the poems of Archilochus and Tyrtaeus*, BSA, XLII, 1947, pp. 76/138. A survey, though not complete, of recent studies by A. Barigazzi, *Contributo al vero Tirteo*, *La Parola del Passato*, fasc. XVII, 1951, p. 102.

c in the twentieth year the Messenians fled from the Ithome highlands.

The current interpretation of these indications is to be found in Strabo (VIII, 5, 6) who goes back to Ephorus, and in Pausanias (IV, 15, 2) and is accepted, I believe rightly, by most of the modern scholars. The lines are regarded as closely linked with the lines:

ἡμετέρῳ βασιλῆι θεοῖσι φίλῳ Θεοπόμπῳ,
διὰ Μεσσήνην εἶδομεν εὐρύχορον.

Theopompus was the conqueror of Messenia. The struggle for its possession ἀμφ' αὐτήν (or for the chief stronghold Ithome) lasted for twenty years. The Spartans gained the victory two generations before the poet. So if the poet lived in the middle of the seventh century the war under Theopompus must be placed seventy or eighty years earlier. In this manner we arrive at the dating *ca* 720–710 for the victory and the end of the war. It agrees with the date from the list of Olympic victors for the beginning of the war.

In connection with the latter, modern critics are wont to say: self-evidently the list agrees with Tyrtaeus, being drawn up according to the above interpretation of the verses quoted. There is no proof for this opinion. If it is correct, and if Hippias is the author of the list, then the current interpretation goes back to the fifth century (a fact that should dispose the advocates of a different interpretation to modesty). In view of Brinkmann's arguments in favour of the authenticity of the list of Olympic Victors¹, I am, however, rather inclined to assume two independent sets of data, in the list and in Tyrtaeus, lending support to the dating of Theopompus in the second half of the eighth century².

¹ *loc. cit.*

² Hippias' work of construction according to hypercritics is not restricted to the Messenian and Spartan victors. He is pictured as a man rummaging in all sorts of family traditions in many Greek cities. He should then have drawn up a list of all victors (not merely of the

Now a modern scholar, Kroymann, has denied the connection between the above first two verses in Tyrtaeus (fr. 4 D) and the fragment dealing with the twenty years' conflict. He bases this denial on the version of the first two words in the manuscript according to Strabo, where we find ἀμφω τώδες (αὐτῷ μαντώι δε). He regards this¹ as a mistake in writing, the correct words being ἀμφ' αὐτῷ. These words are said to refer to a stronghold (Ithome), and their antecedent would be an expression like αἰπὲ πτολεμέθρον. The argument seems unimportant as the reading ἀμφ' αὐτῷ also permits a reference to Ithome, but the intention is to dissociate the twenty years' war from king Theopompus. The argument is based on an historical reconstruction which was also offered, independently and with a different purpose, by Miss Chrimes², who argues as follows:

Sparta's rule over Messenia developed gradually. The two Messenian wars of tradition were merely episodes in the whole of the conflict between Sparta and the later helot regions. Theopompus' victory is a phase in the conflict, not its termination. The capture of the city is another phase. It is misleading, so goes the argument, to group the fragments in such a manner that the first two verses of fr. 4 (D) form a whole with what follows.

There is certainly no harm in pointing out that nothing compels us to believe that Sparta gained control over the helots only through two wars, that of Theopompus and the other at Tyrtaeus' time, as is done both in the old tradition and in most modern commentaries. Miss Chrimes contributed some valuable remarks on this question. If we agree with her that the fragments of Tyrtaeus handed down to us refer, when

stadionikai) corresponding with local traditions. I subscribe to Brinkmann's remark (p. 633): 'um auf diese Weise die Liste zustande zu bringen wolle man sich im einzeln vorstellen und genauer ausmalen'. Cf. p. 48.

¹ Kroymann, *op. cit.*, p. 146 ff.

² *Ancient Sparta*, p. 290 ff.

they deal with war, to episodes from the Messenian war of his day, the question arises why Sparta's enemies should be pictured as formidable, well-armed and well-trained opponents. That would have been impossible if these opponents were the Messenians who two generations before had been definitely beaten. Such a fantastically quick recovery is not to be supposed in the case of these generally isolated hill people.

On these grounds Miss Chrimes proposes a new interpretation of the following lines of Tyrtaeus (fr. 5 D):

δαπερ δνοι μεγάλοισ' ἀχθεσι τειρόμενοι,
δεσποισύνοισι φέροντες ἀναγκαῖης ὑπὸ λυγρῆς
ἡμισυ πᾶν δσσων κάρπον ἀρουρα φέρει.

They are said to refer to the serfs of the Messenian lords whom Sparta, desiring to act as their liberator, incited to rise up against their tyrants¹.

In view of the uncertainty about the historical frame of these fragments² the possibility that this may be the correct interpretation should not be excluded. It lacks great probability however, because it seems unlikely, on psychological grounds, that deriding the serfs in Messenia could incite them to revolt against their Messenian masters and side with those who ridiculed them comparing them to asses weighed down by great burdens.

¹ It is the Messenians, that is the Dorian aristocracy in Messenia, who are being accused of oppressing their serfs, while the serfs in their turn are derided for their stupid loyalty to their masters in the face of oppression (Chrimes, *op. cit.*, p. 291).

² This uncertainty has recently been stressed by Hammond, *The Lycurgean reform at Sparta*, JHS, LXX, 1950, p. 42 ff., partic. 50 ff. He questions, on good grounds, that Tyrtaeus frag. 1 provides an argument in favour of the theory that in his time Sparta still had the tribal army. The poet's call on his contemporaries may well refer to a glorious past. The mention of the Dorian tribes fits in with this retrospect and does not refer to a situation still obtaining in the poet's lifetime.

There is another possibility which Miss Chrimes overlooked. She presumes that the last mentioned fragment refers either, according to the traditional interpretation, to the situation after Theopompus' war (the final subjection of the Messenians, a possibility she rejects), or to the situation in feudal Messenia itself. A third possibility is that the poet presents a general picture of a conquered people and wishes to encourage his Spartans to make the best effort because the defeated are always liable to sink into a position of serfdom. It is no small wonder, then, that Pausanias' source made these words, which originally had a general bearing, refer to a historical reality obtaining after the Spartan victory.

More important than these conjectures based on inadequate data is Miss Chrimes' remark that the first Messenian war was merely a continuation of the gradual conquest which had been going on for several generations before that¹.

Line 3 of fragment 4 (D) pictures Messenia as arable land:

Μεσσήνην ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἀροῦν, ἀγαθὸν δὲ φυτεύειν.

These words, however, do not at all fit the whole landscape called by this name later. This, too, leads Miss Chrimes to the conclusion that the first Messenian war under Theopompus subjected to Sparta only part of the land that later was called Messenia. This may be a sound argument; only we do not know the context of this line in Tyrtaeus' poem. The question is whether these words refer to the first war or to

¹ Chrimes, *op. cit.*, p. 295. It is hardly probable that Μεσσήνη with Homer should have a different meaning from that with Tyrtaeus, so Miss Chrimes argues. She finds in epic tradition support for the opinion that Μεσσήνη originally meant 'the middle region', the border territory between the late Mycenaean kingdoms of Pylos and Lacedaemon. As a result of continuing Spartan conquests, Μεσσήνη is supposed to have acquired the meaning of 'part of western Messenia' (as the whole country was later called) up to and including Mt. Ithome. Miss Chrimes regards this as a geographical indication a parallel of which is to be found in Iliad II, 581/5 and IX, 149/53. The argument is not very convincing.

a period two generations later. In this respect Miss Chrimes differs completely from Kroymann. She believes everything in fragment 4 (D) to refer to 'the first war' under Theopompus, whereas Kroymann separates the first two lines from the rest. In his view Theopompus should be dated earlier and the conquest referred to in the lines 4 ff. should be placed after his death¹. I have no hesitation here in taking Miss Chrimes' side, with the exception of verse 3:

Μεσσήνην ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἀροῦν, ἀγαθὸν δὲ φυτεύειν.

My translation would be: 'It is a good thing to plow (the fields of) Messenia and also a good thing to cultivate it'. Tyrtaeus encourages here the Spartans not to abandon the good land that came into their possession two generations before². If the poet actually means to convey that the conquest made by their ancestors should not be abandoned, perhaps there was some rhetorical exaggeration in his exhortation, giving the impression that all the land added by Theopompus to the Spartan territory was excellent arable soil. The arguments in favour of a gradual conquest of the later helot region in so far as they are based on the name Μεσσήνη do not seem to be very convincing.

Evidence that the conflict was not restricted to the two wars of tradition is only to be found in the tradition of the second war. Tyrtaeus mentions a severe trial of strength. I agree with Miss Chrimes that this trial would be improbable if Theopompus had managed to bring about such a complete subjection as both ancient and modern scholars would have us believe. On the other hand, it would be absurd to reduce the two wars mentioned in the ancient tradition to two of many encounters or guerilla-wars that had been fought for the conquest of Messenia. According to the first two lines of Tyrtaeus (fr. 4) it is an established fact that Theopompus

¹ See p. 86.

² Kroymann's translation (*op. cit.*, p. 149): 'Messenia should be cultivated' has to be refuted.

gave a strong impulse in the direction of Spartan supremacy. Then Messenia (whatever the extent of its territory was) was reduced and its citizens no longer had a part in the Olympic games. We cannot follow Kroymann's lead and accept a war in the second half of the eighth century, at the same time dissociating Theopompus from that date. Tyrtaeus' tradition distinctly mentioning Theopompus as the great conqueror and encouraging the Spartans of the middle of the seventh century by pointing to the glory of their ancestors (two data which I believe to be closely related) has to be accepted as a whole. This, however, makes a dating of Theopompus in the first half of the eighth century impossible. Adhering to this dating on the other hand means rejecting the oldest information contained in Tyrtaeus' poems or accepting Schwartz's untenable theory that Tyrtaeus' fragments belong to a much later poem.

§ 3. AN ATTEMPT TO HARMONIZE THE DATINGS

Is there any reason to attach so great importance to the dating of Theopompus in the beginning of the eighth century? Kroymann's work makes us face this question. Before going into the details of the matter I may summarize the development in the chronology of Theopompus, as I see it. The Spartan list of kings on the basis of 40-year generations placed him, as we saw, in 850/810. The Olympic dating (which I believe to be ancient and prior to Hippias) placed him in the second half of the eighth century. The genealogical chronology reacted in two ways to the latter dating which had the support of Tyrtaeus' authority.

The genealogy was completely adapted to the Olympic dating. This took place much later when it became possible to establish the average generation and the term of office of the various Spartan kings during the fifth and fourth centuries. Burn gave an excellent summary of the computation in these words: 'Generations in the Spartan royal lines in

the fifth and fourth centuries average just over 31 years in both houses. Reigns which are slightly shorter and more numerous owing to cases where, for instance, a brother succeeds, average a fraction over 25 years for the same period. (Reigns of the kings of England, 1066 to 1935, average just under 23½ years, kings of France, 840–1793, the same). Theopompus is eight generations or nine reigns (on Beloch's view of the pedigree) above Latychidas, so on either calculation, by generations or by reigns, we get nearly the same result: Theopompus *floruit* *ca* 720 (Wade-Gery) or *ca* 705 (Beloch)¹.

This is the road of complete adaptation, a road which in the beginning Greek genealogical chronology did not follow. Chronologists tried to save an unadapted genealogical chronology from the vigorous onslaught by the dating according to the Olympic era. Burn is right in saying that the modern chronological reconstructions differ from the later Greek chronologists. But they differ even more from the oldest method, the Spartan list of kings based on 40-year generations. The attempts of the later chronologists of antiquity were, in my opinion, nothing more than a reconciliation between the dating of Theopompus according to the kings list and that according to the Olympic era.

The reconciliation led to the following dating. According to Eusebius, Alcamenes and Theopompus came to the throne simultaneously in 786. They ruled respectively for 38 and 43 years. This gives a third date for Theopompus, *viz.* 786–43. Some scholars regard this dating as original, and that based on the list of victors and Tyrtaeus as a later one²; but in so doing they completely ignore the genealogical dating according to 40-year generations. It is this last dating, however, which reveals to us that the dating in the first half of the eighth century is a compromise. This element of compromise becomes evident at once when the Agiad and the Eurypontid lists are put side by side. The first genealogical dating (*vide* § 1) makes

¹ JHS, LV, 1935, p. 131.

² So Kroymann.

Theopompus a contemporary of Telecles; the dating according to the Olympic era and Tyrtaeus, however, makes him a contemporary of Polydorus¹. The difference between the two datings is reduced to one generation if Theopompus is made a contemporary of Alcamenes. Those who applied the genealogical chronology knew already from experience that the official list of kings and events connected with certain kings might show a difference of one generation. Moreover, imagination was obliging enough, and particularly in the long-drawn and bitter conflict between Spartans and Messenians episodes could be invented and adapted to a change of place of a historical figure in the chronology. This should certainly be taken into account if, besides the two traditional Messenian wars, other periods of conflict are presumed. There is no doubt that there were such periods, but in the chronological reconstruction of the past the intermittent flaring up of the war was readily used as a means of inserting fresh episodes or acts of war. Pausanias' account of Telecles and Alcamenes is therefore extremely problematic, and it is to invert the sequence of the traditions if these stories are made the basis of an original table of datings.

Theopompus could not be moved more than one generation because in the table associated with Tyrtaeus' name (*vide* § 2) he had a definite place, and because his name was connected with the institution of the ephorate (*Plut. Lyc.* 7). The traditional beginning of the list of ephors is 754/3².

Now this last dating places the beginning of the ephorate

¹ The latter fact also follows from Plutarch, who makes Theopompus and Polydorus responsible for the addition to the rhetra (*Lyc.* 6, 7), *i.e.* two generations after Telecles.

² I shall not dwell on Kroymann's theory that besides this dating (by Sosibius) there should have been another one by the Alexandrians (768/7). If this were the case it would afford an argument for the originality of the dating of Theopompus in the first half of the eighth century as a contemporary of Alcamenes. For a conclusive refutation of this dating of the list of ephors see Jacoby, *Apollodorus Chronik*, p. 122 ff. and p. 139, note 4.

in an earlier period of Theopompos' rule, the period preceding the glorious first Messenian war fought under his command. This event at the beginning of his rule made it possible to link his activities with the generation preceding him. It is not just chance that Theopompos is pictured as a very aged man at the end of the first Messenian war. That fits in well with the reconstruction of his reign which, roughly speaking, dominated the second and third quarters of the eighth century. However vague the dating was, it was maintained in the subsequent attempt at reconstruction. In this process of adaptation the genealogical chronology gradually takes second place, the influence of the dating on the basis of Olympic data having gained preference and the genealogical dating following suit always depending on circumstances. That in the case of Theopompos the Olympic dating was given preference, was determined by Tyrtaeus' verses.

The vagueness in the dating of Theopompos is shown by another passage which is often associated with the problem under discussion, *viz.* Plut. *Lyc.* 7, 1:

Οὗτοι τὸ πολίτευμα τοῦ Λυκούργου μεῖζαντος, διμως ἀκρατον ἔτι τὴν ὀλυμπιάδαν καὶ ισχυρὰν οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν ὀρῶντες σπαργῶσαν καὶ θυμουμένην, ὡς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, οἷον ψάλιον ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτῇ τὴν τῶν ἐφόρων δύναμιν, ἔτεσι που μάλιστα τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μετά Λυκούργον πρώτων τῶν περὶ Ἐλατῶν ἐφόρων κατασταθέντων ἐπὶ Θεοπόμπου βασιλεύοντος.

The current explanation of these words is that Plutarch, who elsewhere connects the date of Lycurgus' activities with the first Olympiad in 776, thereby following the example of Aristotle's dating according to the Olympic quoit, in this chapter chooses a different source¹ and dates Theopompos 130 years after Lycurgus. This brings Lycurgus' appearance to 885, the dating by Eratosthenes and Apollodorus. In thus following two sources Plutarch is said to have shown a lack of historical discernment. If, however, through moving one comma the text is read differently the passage may be recon-

¹ So Kessler, *Plutarchs Leben des Lykurgos*, 1910, and others.

ciled with the dating used by Plutarch in the Life of Lycurgus and borrowed from Aristotle.

οἶον φάλιον ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτῇ τὴν τῶν ἐφόρων δύναμιν ἔτεσί που μάλιστα τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν μετὸ Διοκοῦρογον, πρώτων τῶν ἐφόρων κατασταθέντων ἐπὶ Θεοπόμπου βασιλεύοντος.

This gives the following meaning: 130 years after Lycurgus the ephorate was made a weapon against oligarchy. The ephorate had (before) been instituted during the reign of king Theopompus. We now get the following sequence:

776 Lycurgus

754 ephorate under Theopompus

ca 650 the duty of ephors becomes to check the aristocrats and the kings.

The change of their function may have been result of the second Messenian war. The fact that the honoured king Theopompus had instituted the office may have been a help in accepting this encroachment on the existing powers, since it was the work of bearers of an office that was respected on account of its origin. The story that Theopompus was abused for having shorn the royal power of its glory by instituting this office may have been a later invention for the purpose of showing that what later was felt as a curtailment of the royal power (and rightly so), had made its appearance already under the great king.

In connection with the ancient chronology it is worthy of note that in Plut. *Lyc.* 7 the king has not been dated. That the ephorate acquired its political significance 130 years after Lycurgus is known, but the origin of the office has not been strictly dated either. 'During Theopompus' reign' perhaps referred to events in Spartan history of the eighth century.

When the list of ephors in Sparta becomes important for chronological purposes another step has been made in the direction of historical dating. That stage, however, was not reached in the eighth century. Unlike the association of Theopompus with the Olympic victors (an association which we regard as dating from the eighth century), dating according

to the list of ephors is, in my opinion, a later development. In this connection I may mention the name of the ephor Chilon, one of the Seven Sages, whose ephorate from 556/3 according to *Diog. Laert.* I, 68 has been so very important for the application of the list: γέγονε δὲ ἔφορος (Χίλων) κατὰ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν ἑκτηνὸν δλυμπιάδα (556/3) – Παμφίλη δέ φησι κατὰ τὴν ἑκτηνή, καὶ πρῶτον ἔφορον γενέσθαι – ἐπὶ Ελλυδήμου, ὃς φησι Σωσικράτης... καὶ πρῶτος εἰσηγήσατο ἔφόρους, τοῖς βασιλεῦσι παρατευγόνται. Σάτυρος δὲ Λυκοῦργον.

With regard to this list Jacoby¹ is more sceptical now compared with the stand he took in *Apollodors Chronik*², but he, too, admits the possibility that the list is older than Chilon but that it was not applied for dating till his time. This agrees with my view of the evolution of chronology. Only gradually was the chronology based on the list of kings abolished. The association with Olympia created the possibility of greater accuracy. Dating on the basis of bearers of annual offices was the most accurate but the least able to become effective as long as the royal power managed to maintain the old chronological tradition. The length of time it could take for the oldest method of dating to be discarded, may be seen from the passage in Plutarch, *Lyc.* 7, 1, just quoted. If my interpretation of this passage is correct, the power of ephors was considerably extended *ca* 650. But it was not till Chilon's time, *i.e.* one hundred years later, that dating according to ephors' years was introduced.

Even then, the importance of counting by generations remained notable. This is shown by a much discussed passage in [Plut.], *Reg. et Imp. Apophth.* 23 (= *Moralia* 194 B), relating how Epaminondas after the battle of Leuctra liberated the Messenians, 230 years after their subjection. The passage made Beloch and Lenschau reject the traditional chronology for the Messenian wars, and assume that the second war should be dated

¹ *Atthis*, 1949, p. 305, note 24 (with recent literature) and p. 353, note 5.

² p. 183 ff.

ca 600. I believe Epaminondas' statement to be based on the counting by generations. His number of years stands for 'seven generations' (twice three generations or twice one hundred years with one additional generation, here rounded off to thirty years). Epaminondas (from reading or from hearsay) wrongly regarded seven generations as equal to 230 years. His calculation evidently came from a source (perhaps a Spartan source) mentioning seven generations of Spartan kings, *i.e.* on Spartan reckoning seven times 40, or 280, years. This brings us from 371 to ca 650, the traditional year of the war in which Tyrtaeus took part, the second Messenian war which brought slavery to the Messenians until their liberation by Thebes¹.

If the number of years mentioned by Epaminondas is interpreted in this manner it confirms the dating which, on the basis of the material now available, must be regarded as the most probable: Theopompus was the king from the eighth century under whose rule the ephorate originated and the first great war with the Messenians was fought.

§ 4. THE LIST OF EPHORS AS A FACTOR IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CHRONOLOGICAL PATTERN

One does not do justice to the struggle for the chronological pattern if dating of events on the basis of the list of ephors is made the starting point. This is done by Kroymann in the 'Beilage' of his book *Pausanias und Rhianos*, 1943, in which he remarks: 'Das Epochenjahr für die frühspartanische Geschichte ist bekanntlich (*sic*) das Jahr des Beginns der Ephorenanagraphe' (p. 140). On the contrary, the anagraphe of the ephors is the termination of a laborious evolution. When

¹ Consequently, the so-called Plato war must be discarded as pure imagination. Cf. Jacoby's commentary on Rhianus of Bene (FGr Hist, III a, p. 114 ff.; 173 ff.). In my view Jacoby's attempt to deny the existence of the second Messenian war has not been successful. A refutation of this theory is implied in the above discussion of the evidence.

it is accomplished in Chilon's time, the previous situation does not disappear, and the genealogical chronology is still maintained, as Epaminondas' words show. Kroymann errs most of all in starting for the chronology from the list of ephors, and so failing to appreciate the struggle for the 'pattern'. His next mistake is to take the date 768, reconstructed wrongly from the old data as being the beginning of the list of ephors, as the original epoch. He believes that later the list was dated at 754/3 with the object of dating Theopompus in agreement with the tradition concerning the first Messenian war. This means turning all our knowledge of the sequence of the chronological systems topsy-turvy. Dating according to years of office is the last phase in chronology. It could not supersede the genealogical chronology or that based on the rather vague Olympic era, owing to that Greek particularism which also influenced dating methods. Coordination of the lists of kings, archons, prytaneis and other bearers of annual offices of all leading Greek states would be required if a clear and generally understood dating were to be given. The Greeks did not take this trouble, hence the persistence of the genealogy and the popularity of the Olympic dating once it had become universal.

It may be asked whether Thucydides' statement that the Spartans had the same constitution for four hundred years till the end of the war (either 421 or 404) should be interpreted in the same manner¹: ἡ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνια μετὰ τὴν κτῆσιν τῶν νῦν ἐνοικούντων αὐτὴν Δωριῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δύο ἡμέραν χρόνον στασιάσασα δῆμος ἐκ παλαιοτάτου καὶ ἡδυομήθη καὶ αἰεὶ ἀτυράννευτος ἦν ἔτη γάρ ἔστι μάλιστα τετρακόσια καὶ ὅληγε πλεῖστος ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ πολέμου, ἀφ' οὗ Λακεδαιμόνιοι

¹ Thuc. I, 18, 1. Cf. Gomme, *Comm. ad loc.*, and particularly the excellent treatment of this passage by Toepffer, *op. cit.*, p. 360 ff. Recent comments are by Andrewes in *CQ*, XXXII, 1938, p. 94, Prakken, *Studies*, p. 60 ff., Chrimes, *Ancient Sparta*, 1949, p. 340 and Hammond, *JHS*, LXX, 1950, p. 54 ff. Gomme (p. 131) and Hammond (p. 54, note 59) are right in opposing Andrewes.

τῇ αὐτῇ πολιτείᾳ χρῶνται, καὶ δι' αὐτὸν δυνάμενοι καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἀλλαῖς πόλεσι καθίστασαν.

What is the Politeia of Sparta meant by Thucydides? It is generally believed¹ that the reference is to Lycurgus' legislation but it is possible to think here of the legislation as altered by Theopompus. His alterations were of great importance: *a* the suppression of the people's power by the rider attached to the *rhetra*, *b* the institution of the *ephorate* (which, however, did not become influential till later, although even then it did not affect the Politeia, a characteristic gerontocracy).

If we complete Herodotus' list of the Eurypontids after Theopompus we find ten names including Archidamus II (d. 427):

Theopompus
Anaxandridas
Archidamus I
Anaxilaus
Leotychidas I
Hippocratidas
Agesilaus
Menares
Leotychidas II
Zeuxidamus
Archidamus II

The inclusion of Theopompus is optional. There is a reason for including him because the *ephorate* is said to have been instituted in the first part of his reign. Zeuxidamus who did not rule may then be omitted.

The counting is $10 \times 40 = 400$ years. Both in 421 and 404 Agis II, a member of this royal house, reigned (427/399). Thucydides therefore speaks of 'a little more than 400 years'.

We can well understand why the chronology is based on the list of the Eurypontids. The subsequent alterations in the Politeia were associated with this house, *viz.* with Theopompus and two generations before him with Charilaus and his guardian Lycurgus.

¹ Jacoby, *Apollodorus Chronik*, p. 114.

If this is a correct reconstruction of Thucydides' 400 years, then it demonstrates that the genealogical chronology of the Spartan kings in the traditional 40-year generations also was of importance in Thucydides' eyes and that this historian adhered to the scheme of Spartan history that was based on this chronology.

We repeat the questions put at the opening part of this chapter. Why is Anaxandridas missing in Pausanias? Why does he give the names of Zeuxidamus, Anaxidamus and Archidamus¹?

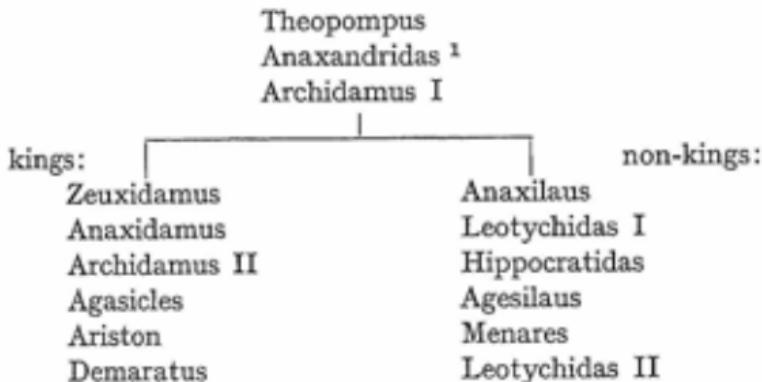
Our answer to the first question is: because the aim was to place Theopompus in the first half of the eighth century and so to compromise between the dating according to the ancient catalogue of kings and Tyrtaeus' poem (which was indirectly confirmed by the list of victors which after 736 did not mention Messenian champions any more)².

The second question can only be approached with great caution. It is common knowledge that Pausanias in chronological matters takes extraordinary liberties and it would not be rash to regard these names as products of his fancy or of that of his source. A more satisfactory answer, though, is not impossible if the question is given a wider bearing. The question should actually be not how the names of Zeuxidamus, Anaxidamus and Archidamus appear, but what is the cause of three names of kings appearing later in the Eurypontid list, which are not found in Herodotus. The answer is implied

¹ See p. 68.

² Kroymann's answer to this question is: because the intention was to bring Theopompus down from his place in the beginning of the eighth century and reconcile him with Tyrtaeus' dating (which according to Kroymann is based on a wrong interpretation of the verses in question). Kroymann wrongly regards Theopompus' dating in the beginning of the eighth century as the oldest dating, although in reality it is the youngest. Kroymann disregards the list of kings which knew the 40-years-generation and which is the first stage in Spartan chronology.

in the above interpretation of the number two in the much debated passage of Herodotus VIII, 131 which in my opinion denotes two *γενεαί* of one hundred years, i.e. the reign of five kings. These kings were Zeuxidamus, Anaxidamus, Archidamus, Agasicles and Ariston, the ancestors of Demaratus, and they are in the same generations as the five non-ruling lineal ancestors of Leotychidas II: Anaxilaus, Leotychidas I, Hippocratidas, Agesilaus and Menares. It appears now that Leotychidas II and Demaratus are to be regarded as belonging to the same generation, which explains that after Archidamus I five kings, not six, are mentioned. The situation then is as follows:



In this manner Herodotus and Pausanias are linked without any strain.

Kroymann's answer to our second question is far from satisfactory, although he is to be credited with indicating the weakness in the proposed alteration of β' in ζ' in Herodotus' text.

Kroymann's theory on the second question starts from the list of ephors according to the – in my opinion – modern view (unknown to antiquity) that the epoch of this list is 768 B.C. The author of Pausanias' list wants to place Theopompus later (for the sake of the misunderstood Tyrtaeus).

¹ Omitted by Pausanias for the reason mentioned above.

What is his procedure?

1. He discards Anaxandridas and Archidamus. The result should have been that the rule now passed to Anaxilaus; but this would have made the omission of two names too conspicuous.

2. He was therefore compelled to replace Anaxilaus and his direct successors by other names.

Kroymann summarizes his view on the origin of the tradition in Pausanias in these words: 'den Theopomp um einer verfehlten Kombination von Tyrtaioszitaten willen um zwei Generationen hinabzudrücken, damit er in die Generation der 'Väter der Väter' gelange. Aus diesem Grunde und zu diesem Zwecke wurde Soos eingeschoben, Anaxandrides ausgelassen, Archidamos ausgeschaltet und die Namen der folgenden EuryPontiden geändert'¹.

This reconstruction contains various peculiar considerations.

1. It is futile to speculate on 'the psychology of the chronographer as a forger'. Such a character may conceivably screen his fabrications by 'wholesale lying' so as to give the impression that he uses an independent tradition. But would not those who were able to detect the omission of names also have been able to see through this camouflage? Surely, the ancient chronologers were not less capable in this respect than Kroymann.

2. But, we ask, was the camouflage prepared as thoroughly as Kroymann supposes? The answer is in the negative. In Pausanias the name Archidamus has not disappeared but occurs twice in the list, the first time indicating the same individual mentioned by Herodotus as Theopompus' grandson. So here one name has been omitted, *viz.* Anaxandridas² and this omission has not been disguised.

¹ Kroymann, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

² With the object I pointed out on p. 85, *i.e.* to assign to Theopompus a place in the chronology which reduced the difference in the two *older* chronologies.

My standpoint is that Archidamus is the founder of the two branches which produced Demaratus and Leotychidas II. Between them and this ancestor there are five (royal) generations (i.e. *two γενεαλογίαι* of one hundred years). Herodotus mentions *two* non-kings out of the five names from Leotychidas' genealogical tree and confuses 'two generations of one hundred years' (during which Leotychidas II's ancestors did not rule) with 'two persons'. Once this mistake was made, it is obvious that the three remaining persons belonging to the same lateral branch as Leotychidas II are omitted and that the corresponding kings in Demaratus' pedigree are regarded as ancestors also of Leotychidas II.

3. I believe to have demonstrated that Kroymann's interpretation of the Tyrtaeus fragments is wrong. There is no justification for reducing the war dated there under Theopompus to but one episode among a number of skirmishes of equal importance with it.

4. In the matter of Soos, a plausible interpretation was suggested ¹, *viz.* that the insertion of this name was the result of reconciliation with the Agiad list.

§ 5. 40-YEARS GENERATIONS

The foregoing interpretation stands or falls with the genealogical chronology of the Spartan list of kings based on generations of *forty* years. Herodotus' work shows that this method of time-reckoning existed and even made him depart from his own method of counting three generations per century (II, 142). In this respect the comments of modern scholars like Meyer are convincing. According to II, 145, 4, Heracles lived 900 years before Herodotus. In the pedigrees of Leonidas (VII, 204) and of Leotychidas (VIII, 131) he states the span from Heracles to the beginning of the fifth century to be 21 generations inclusive. If a generation was to be regarded as equal to $33\frac{1}{2}$ years, then Heracles would be placed 700 years

¹ See p. 15.

before the beginning of the fifth century B.C. but this does not at all agree with the distance of 900 years between Herodotus and Heracles. If the generation of the Spartan list of kings is put at forty years, then the distance from the beginning of the fifth century till Heracles appears to be 840 years; and this agrees well with Herodotus' calculation, half a century later, according to which Heracles had lived 900 years before him.

These results of the chronological studies of the nineteenth century should be emphasized, since Miss Chrimes has attempted to demonstrate that the dating in Herodotus' lists of kings was based on three generations to the century¹. Both this view and her conjecture that the Spartans themselves operated with 27-year generations and 81-year cycles, are not acceptable².

Moreover, Miss Chrimes' theory abounds with discrepancies. On p. 329 she rightly puts Herodotus I, 65 (Lycurgus guardian of the Agiad Leobotes) side by side with VII, 204 (list of the Agiads according to which Leobotes appears at the twelfth generation before the invasion of Xerxes). I believe this can only mean that Lycurgus was placed in the thirteenth generation before the Persian invasion. But on p. 340 we read: 'The Agiad account followed by Herodotus makes Lycurgus the uncle of Leobotes or *fourteen generations from c. 484 B.C.*' (the italics are mine). The indication 'c. 484 B.C.' must necessarily be equivalent to 'the invasion of Xerxes' used in connection with Leonidas' pedigree. It is obviously not possible to date Lycurgus both in the 14th and

¹ *Ancient Sparta*, p. 329.

² 'Her theory of Spartan 81-years cycles (forerunners via Tarentum of the *ludi saeculares*), which enable her confidently to assign Lycurgus' reforms to 809 B.C., rests on an error in arithmetic. For if A.D. 163 and 242 B.C. were each the last year of a 9-year cycle (p. 342/3) the period 241 B.C.–A.D. 163 (inclusive) contains 404, not the 405 years the theory demands. Can Miss Chrimes have included a non-existent year 0?'. (F. W. Walbank, CR, LXV, 1951, p. 100).

in the 13th generation. The former placing is wrong (as king Leonidas may not yet be included) and cannot be maintained with a reference to Herodotus.

But Miss Chrimes needs the number 14 for her further calculation. The year 484 (the implications of this date for her system will be discussed below) is associated with Eratosthenes' dating of Lycurgus in 885 (Chrimes: 884). This span of 400 years for fourteen generations works out at 28 or 29 years to the generation. As in her opinion the Spartan generation had 27 years and as she evidently deems it permissible that a difference of 1 or 2 years per generation may be neglected, the Agiad list of Herodotus, with the aid of Eratosthenes' dating of Lycurgus and an extra generation smuggled in, is thus made to fit her hypothesis¹.

Miss Chrimes' reconstruction seems to be more successful in the matter of the Eurypontid list. All that is required here is to calculate the number of generations according to Herodotus' data (VIII, 131), including the last king. From Leotychidas I (inclusive) to Eunomus (the father of Charilaus who in this list figures as the nephew and ward of Lycurgus) we find twelve generations². Though the fourteen generations were first put at 400 years with the aid of Eratosthenes, now Thuc. I, 18, is called in to make up the period covered by these twelve generations. Thucydides' statement that 'the Lacedaemonians have used the same constitution for a little

¹ She has overlooked the fact that the system handed down in Eratosthenes is of a much later date and unknown in Herodotus' time; it is a compromise between the old chronology of the kings' lists of 40 years per generation and the later method based on the Olympic era. Cf. my next chapter on Aristotle and the chronology, par. 5. Apart from the alteration of thirteen to fourteen and from her rash satisfaction when her calculation (28 or 29) 'approximately' reaches the desired goal of 27, her principal mistake lies in the anachronistic projection of Eratosthenes' dating (borrowed from Ephorus) in the time of Herodotus.

² We observed before (p. 6) that Lycurgus was probably placed earlier among the Eurypontids than among the Agiads.

more than four centuries dating back from the end of this war' is simply regarded as referring to Lycurgus' legislative work¹. 'The end of this war' is said to refer to the end of the Peloponnesian war instead of to the peace of 421². My preference for 404 is based on the fact that in the kings' list according to the 40-years generation Theopompus is placed at 850-810. Counted from 810 the 400-year period extends to 410 and the expression 'a little more than four centuries' is justified if one counts to 404.

From the year 484, Miss Chrimes' favourite point, to 404 the distance is 80 years. If these are deducted from Thucydides' 400 years, then the interval from Leotychidas II to Lycurgus is twelve generations or upwards of 320 years. If 'upwards of 320 years' is thought to be equal to '324 years', we get twelve generations of 27 years which makes Thucydides' remark on Lycurgus' legislation to refer to the year 809 (a new cycle began in 808). —

Let us assume for the moment that Eratosthenes is to be associated with one of the two lists of kings and that the number of generations for the Agiads and the Euryponitids is respectively 14 and 12, in accordance with Miss Chrimes' calculation.

Next, we take into account her conjecture that Eratosthenes' year 884 (885) and the twelve generations (of three to a century) were the result of his starting from the year 484. In her own words: 'Consider first the statement of Eratosthenes and his followers that Lycurgus propounded his laws 108 years before the first Olympiad, *i.e.* 884 B.C. At three generations to a century, this gives exactly *twelve generations before 484 B.C., from which date the original calculation was made*'³.

¹ Cf. p. 83 ff. for a different explanation; also Gomme, *Commentary*, I, p. 130 for the uncertainty in associating this passage with Lycurgus.

² This in itself is plausible, cf. Hammond, *art. cit.*, p. 55, note 61.

³ *Ancient Sparta*, p. 340; the italics are mine.

The answer to the question which list agrees best with this calculation of Eratosthenes must be: the Eurypontid list which also has twelve generations (inclusive) between the Persian invasion and the legislator. If the calculation was based on the year 484, then the Eurypontid list of kings provided the chronological frame for arriving at the year 884 (885).

But at this junction Miss Chrimes makes an unexpected volte-face. She aims at making a count of 27 years per generation plausible and as the fourteen generations (inclusive) of the Agiad list are better suited for this purpose, Eratosthenes' calculation is suddenly linked with this list of kings. It is, however, impossible to serve two masters. Her argument should have been: Eratosthenes either based his calculation on twelve generations (of three to the century) and followed the Eurypontid list, or he assumed fourteen generations but in that case the result could not be 27 years per generation (this is admitted by Miss Chrimes who alters this to 28 or 29). As she insists on demonstrating the number 27, she should have left Eratosthenes out of account, the more so as he does not fit in with her theory.

Her reconstruction depends wholly on the soundness of the starting point, the year 484, as the beginning of a cycle of 81 years. Walbank's calculation¹ is fatal to this theory. Miss Chrimes bases this cycle on an inscription of the year A.D. 163 (IG, V, I, 1346) relating to a feast that she believes to have been the close of a cycle. In this way she goes back from Roman times to the archaic period (one of the main errors in her fascinating study) and arrives at the year 484 B.C. for the beginning of a new cycle. But this beginning is undermined when the year 163 appears to be unsound as a starting point. A general remark on the predilection of early Dorians for a system of multiples of three and nine will not save the theory (for that matter, the Athenian constitutional system offers

¹ Cf. note 2 on p. 89.

examples of a similar 'predilection' – trittyes – which mean just as little).

The system of the 40-year generation is the old Spartan system. This result of the modern study of chronology has not been affected by Miss Chrimes' speculations¹.

¹ For a criticism of her chronology cf. A. M. Woodward in his review of her book in *Historia*, I, 1950, (the 4th fasc. appeared in 1952), pp. 616–634, part. pp. 625/6. This review reflects Miss Chrimes' line of thought very well. On one important point, however, I disagree. The chief contribution of Miss Chrimes' book is her successful attack on the modern theory of Wade-Gery, Ehrenberg and others who maintain that the great political and social upheaval in Sparta, associated later with the name of Lycurgus, should be placed around the year 600 or 550. Woodward (p. 625) reproaches her for regarding Wade-Gery's arguments as 'representative of modern views and ignoring more recent discussions of the problem, whether published by himself or by other historians especially in German periodicals', and he finishes by saying: 'the author appears to some extent to be tilting at abandoned wind-mills'. In my review of Miss Chrimes' book I have, on the contrary, given her credit for removing here the fossilizing tendencies of the research-work in the later decades (*Mnemosyne*, QS, IV, 1951, p. 182). There is, indeed, no justification for creating the impression that the old theory has been abandoned by Wade-Gery and others. Hammond rightly remarks that Wade-Gery's articles in *CQ*, XXXVII and XXXVIII support his account in *CAH*, III (JHS, LXX, 1950, p. 42, note 3).

CHAPTER V

ARISTOTLE AND CHRONOLOGY

§ 1. PYTHIONIKAI

For a discussion of Aristotle's activity in the field of chronology we start with the tradition that, together with his nephew Callisthenes, he arranged the list of *Pythionikai*. This is recorded in the laudatory inscription for these two men, probably of 334/3 B.C.¹

The point in this inscription is the explanation of the words [συ]νέ[ταξαν πίνακα] τῶν ἀ[πὸ Γυλίδα νεν]ικη[θε]ων τὰ [Πύθια] καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ || ν ἀγῶνα κατασκ[ευα]σάντων.

The text has been reconstructed according to a datum in Schol. Pind. Hypoth. Pyth. (Drachmann, II, 4) stating that the games were instituted when Gylidas was an archon at Delphi and Simon at Athens (591/0). Aristotle's and Callisthenes' information, so it is believed, evidently went back to this period.

This reconstruction, however, is very hypothetical and the question remains whether the inscription confirms the scholium, as the name Γυλίδα does not fit in with the στοιχηδόν inscription.

1. There are two notable attempts to maintain the correspondence between the scholium and the inscription.

One comes from Homolle who presumes that two letters take the place of one, as occurs occasionally. The other is Lenschau's who proposes to replace Γυλίδας in the reconstructed text of the inscription by Γυλίας².

¹ See M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* II, 1948, nr 187, with bibliography. Cf. the important remarks of A. Brinkmann in RM, LXX, 1915, p. 627, of Th. Lenschau, Philol., XCI, 1936, p. 398, and of P. Moreaux, *op. cit.*, p. 125/6.

² 'Nun ist Γυλίδας Patronymikon zu Γύλιας und Γύλιας ist dorische

2. Witkowski offers another solution which, however, destroys the agreement between scholium and inscription. His restoration $\tauῶν \deltaμφότερα νενικηκότων$ may be interpreted as follows. It is said to refer to the athletic and musical contests, the latter having been held from time immemorial, ever since Apollo had been the first victor¹. In my opinion we should start here from the scholium giving a date for the beginning of $\eta \tauῶν Πυθιονικῶν \deltaναγραφή$ (the term occurs in *Plut. Solon* 11), *viz.* 591/0. The inscription then presumably indicates that Aristotle made this $\deltaναγραφή$. Even although the inscription does not mention the year of Gylidas, we may take it that Aristotle took account of this year. He probably restricted himself to the victors in the athletic contests, but it is equally possible that he also mentioned the victors in the musical agones (so Witkowski). The main thing is that we should not separate Aristotle's work from the scholium because there is no reason for questioning the statement in the scholium about the epoch of the Pythian games. Our conclusion then is that Aristotle based his $\deltaναγραφή \tauῶν Πυθιονικῶν$ on Gylidas' archonship.

In the enumeration of Aristotle's works by Hesychius we find: Πυθιονίκας βιβλίον ἡ, ἐν Ḧ Μέναγμον ἐνίκησεν. This probably means that the Delphic officials somehow offered a prize because, as a result of the frequent looting in the sacred war (*Diod. 16, 56*), the old lists of champions, or their substitutes, had been destroyed. This might explain Aristotle's work², but there is also room for the assumption that in the course of time attempts had been made to raise the standing of the Pythian athletic agones, and that the citizens of Delphi,

Kurzform für Γυλίας, Γύλικπος und ähnliche Bildungen. Da aber Patronymika von Kurzformen sehr selten sind, so nehme ich an, dass Γυλίδες im Schol. Schreibfehler für Γυλίας ist, alsdann passt der Gen. Γυλίας genau in die Lücke der Inschrift' (p. 398).

¹ I regard as unacceptable the suggestion that the Pythian festivals included, apart from the quadrennial *agones*, annual contests, and that the word $\deltaμφότερα$ (if this reading is correct) refers to both.

² Brinkmann, RM, LXX, 1915, p. 627.

desiring to compete with the Olympic games, had added all sorts of mythical concoctions to the list. Aristotle, so it is believed, was then instructed to undo this evil. In the eyes of the people who commissioned him to do so, whatever their reason for having a new list made, he performed his task to their satisfaction. He was more successful than Menaechmus and was honoured in the way the inscription tells us.

These particulars show that Aristotle worked judiciously and enjoyed the confidence of a wide circle. His activity in Delphi should, I believe, make us pay more attention to his attitude towards the list of *Olympionikai* and also set greater store by his evident acceptance of the year 776 as a starting point. The task laid upon him shows that the critical attitude towards the traditional list was stronger than has been realized in modern times. This critical attitude was applied to Delphi but evidently it was absent in the case of the list of Olympic victors. What is more, the man who reorganized the *ἀντίγραφή* in Delphi accepted the traditional Olympic data. If it is true that older Pythian victors were made up by means of forgery, with the object of competing with Olympia, and that Aristotle cleaned up this muddle, it follows that the Olympic list contained very ancient particulars and that it found credence. Aristotle's dating of Lycurgus (Plut. *Lyc.* 1) shows that Aristotle believed in its authenticity¹.

§ 2. POLITICS II, 12

In this chapter Aristotle briefly enumerates legislators and makers of laws, *i.e.* those who drafted an entire constitution and those who have one or more special laws to their credit. In the first group we find Lycurgus and Solon, in the second Zaleucus, Charondas, Philolaus, Draco, Pittacus and Andromedas.

¹ I will not discuss the antiquity of the Olympic games, as this is not germane to the point at issue. See on this question G. Thomson, *The Greek Calendar*, JHS, LXIII, 1943, p. 52-65.

We are concerned here with the following passage (1274a 24/30): πειρῶνται δέ τινες καὶ συνάγειν ὡς Ὀνομακρίτου μὲν γενομένου πρώτου δεινοῦ περὶ νομοθεσίαν, γυμνασθῆναι δ' αὐτὸν ἐν Κρήτῃ Λοκρὸν ὅντα καὶ ἐπιδημοῦντα κατὰ τέχνην μαντικήν. τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι Θάλητα ἑταίρον, Θάλητος δ' ἀκροατὴν Λυκοῦργον καὶ Ζάλευκον, Ζαλεύκου δὲ Χαρώνδαν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσιν ἀσκεπτέρερον τῷ χρόνῳ λέγοντες.

This means that here Aristotle is opposing attempts, all too frequently made, to link various legislators together. An association with Crete was obvious on account of the resemblance between Cretan and Spartan laws¹. Plutarch, a conscientious follower of Aristotle, was not proof against the influence of this resemblance, and in this matter (cap. IV) he followed a different road from the revered example of his predecessor. Aristotle offers a different explanation of the analogy in the legislations and does not accept the journey of Lycurgus of which the oldest tradition (Plato and Herodotus) has no knowledge: φασὶ γάρ τὸν Λυκοῦργον, ὅτε τὴν ἐπιτροπείαν τὴν Χαρίλλου τοῦ βασιλέως καταλιπὼν ἀπεδήμησεν, τότε τὸν πλειστὸν δικτρῆψαι χρόνον περὶ Κρήτην διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν ἀποικοὶ γάρ οἱ Λύκτιοι τῶν Λακεάνων ἤσαν, κατέλαβον δ' οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐλθόντες τὴν τάξιν τῶν νόμων ὑπάρχουσαν ἐν τοῖς τότε κατοικοῦσιν (1271b 24 ff.).

The connection between Lycurgus and Homer suggested in many sources is not accepted by Aristotle², and in this respect Plutarch has followed his example (*Lyc.* IV, 4/5). It has always been supposed that this resulted from the dating of Lycurgus in 776, which prevented any connection between him and Homer who could, however, have been his contemporary if the date was placed in the first part of the ninth century. But the question is whether after all an opposite line of thought was followed: Aristotle rejected on chronological grounds the dating of Lycurgus in the tenth century. He was well aware

¹ Cf. Kessler, *op. cit.*, p. 18 ff. on the various manners in which the two were associated.

² Heraclides fr. 2, 3, FHG, II, 210, Kessler, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

that dating according to generations was not dependable: he also observed that all the supposed contemporaries were not contemporaries at all. In shifting these data he retained only one piece of evidence which seemed to him reliable, the Olympic quoit. It is far from certain that the supposed handing down of Homer's poems by Creophylus' descendants is a later construction made to preserve somehow a link between Homer and Lycurgus¹.

Politics II, 12 shows that Aristotle examined the data about the law-givers and rejected the current synchronisms. The discussion on Lycurgus, then, is not isolated but part of a complex of studies of which *Pol.* II, 12 is only a sample. This work of Aristotle must have been well known to his contemporaries and this would explain how he, either spontaneously or at the request of the Delphian authorities, took part in the contest for the reorganization of the list of *Pythionikai*. If we enumerate the points in which Aristotle disregarded current opinion, either by choosing his own path or by returning to older tradition, we find:

a a return to Simonides' tradition, *i.e.* Lycurgus placed in the Eurypontid lineage. (I believe this was essential and of great consequence);

b the dissociation of Lycurgus from all so-called contemporaries (Thaletas, Homer and others), except from the one with whom he was linked on a visible and tangible document, *i.e.* Iphitus, mentioned on the quoit.

§ 3. EMPEDOCLES

Aristotle's work in the field of chronology was far-reaching. It included the poets and philosophers. In particular, Eratosthenes and Apollodorus used him to date Empedocles¹. The data were presumably borrowed from Aristotle's work *περὶ ποιητῶν*². What concerns us most is that this dating of

¹ Thus Jacoby, *Apollodorus Chronik*, p. 117. See below p. 113 ff.

² FGrHist, 241, fr. 7; 244, fr. 32; cf. also Diels-Kranz³, no 31 A 1.

³ Cf. Jacoby, *Apollodorus Chronik*, p. 273.

Empedocles is connected with and was probably based on Aristotle's studies of the lists of *Olympionikai*. The text of *Diog. Laert.* VIII, 52 ff. relating to the dating of Empedocles clearly brings out Apollodorus' method and the importance of the ἀκμή for dating persons about whom authentic data were not available¹.

The theory concerning the ἀκμή goes back to philosophic and medical literature². In the field of chronology it was very probably used for the first time by Apollodorus: the age of forty. On no account should we regard Aristotle as one of the forerunners in this matter, for his comment on ἀκμή makes this term altogether useless for any chronological determination. *Rhet.* B. 14, 1390b 9: ἀκμάζει δὲ τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἑτῶν μέχρι τῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ περὶ τὰ ἑνὸς δεῖν πεντήκοντα.

This distinction between a physical and a mental ἀκμή at different ages obviously renders the notion unserviceable for any time-reckoning.

In connection with Empedocles, two statements by chronographers have the support of Aristotle's authority. Eratosthenes states that Empedocles' grandfather and namesake was the victor in the 71st Olympiad (496/5). The philosopher was evidently mistaken for his grandfather³. Apollodorus adds, also on the authority of Aristotle, that Empedocles lived to be sixty.

The latter statement was of great value for fixing the time in which the poet had lived. It was linked with an older piece of information by Glaucus of Rhegium who had said that Empedocles had visited Thurii shortly after its foundation⁴.

The date of this visit, placed by Apollodorus in *Ol.* 84, 1

¹ For full particulars the reader is referred to Jacoby, *op. cit.*, p. 272 ff.

² One of the best summaries is given by Jacoby, *op. cit.*, p. 41 ff.

³ Satyrus in *Diog. Laert.* VIII, 53. Cf. FGrHist, II D, p. 711.

⁴ Cf. V. Ehrenberg, *AJP*, LXIX, 1948, p. 149 ff., esp. p. 150; J.R. Morrison, *CQ*, XXXV, 1941, p. 1 ff.

(444/3), was in his system regarded as $\delta\kappa\mu\acute{\eta}$ ¹. With this point as a start the year of his birth was fixed at 484/3. From Aristotle's information² it followed that the year of his death had to be 424/3.

It is not surprising that Aristotle realized the vital importance of the list of the Olympic Victors for the chronology. He attached great importance to the beginning of the list which he linked with Lycurgus, and it follows that he must have made a thorough examination of the list itself. His statement about grandfather Empedocles' victory can be seen as the natural consequence of these studies.

It seems that Aristotle's statement about Empedocles' age cannot be explained in the same manner. He might have availed himself of synchronisms which are lost to us. I mention in this respect his statement that Anaxagoras was older than Empedocles but that his doctrine became known only after that of Empedocles³.

The possibility must be admitted that Aristotle calculated Empedocles' age on the basis of data unknown to us. Nevertheless I believe that this calculation, too, may have been the result of his study of the same list (just as in the case of Heraclitus' age). My reasons are the following:

a the list of victors in the contests might have recorded not only names but certain events as well⁴.

b conversely, if a certain event had taken place in an

¹ Cf. Jacoby, FGrHist, II D, p. 728.

² The latter information cannot also have been borrowed from Glaucus. Jacoby suggests this in the following words: 'grundlage der zeitbestimmung ist die nachricht des Glaukos van Rhegion, die nach Apollodors methode als blütejahr Ol. 84, 1 (444/3).... und für das ganze leben 483/2-424/3 ergab'. The conclusion (the italics are mine) Apollodorus drew from Aristotle (483/2 should read 484/3), not from Glaucus.

³ Metaph. I, 3, 984 a 11 = Diels-Kranz, I⁶, 31, 5, p. 283, 23/25. Cf. C. Jöhrens, *Die Fragm. des Anaxagoras*, Diss. Göttingen, 1939, p. 93 ff.

⁴ I maintain this in spite of Jacoby's attempt in *Atthis* to deny it, cf. p. 49 ff. and p. 119.

Olympic year the event might have been dated by mentioning the Olympiad. This would have been only natural. The statement: 'this happened during N's archonship', or 'this occurred in the year that X was a victor at Olympia' is sufficient for those who remember the archonship or the victory or who can look it up in a list.

The argument under *b* is often overlooked by those who believe that a statement placing an event according to a calculation based on a list should also be found in that list. On the contrary, it is quite possible for an event to be fixed *incidentally* by a synchronism, *e.g.* by an Olympic victory. These very casual fixations may prove an excellent check on later complete chronologies based on a list of victors, either a 'bare' list of names or a list which also recorded events. If, to take Empedocles as an example, this poet were placed before 496, the year of his grandfather's victory, or the grandfather-namesake were mistaken for the grandson (a thing that evidently happened), then an incidental synchronism connected for instance with the years of birth and of death would be valuable, excluding the possibility that the grandson was the victor.

As long as the years within the Olympiad are not counted, events falling in the second, third or fourth year of an Olympiad cannot be fixed. The only thing possible is fixing an event in an Olympic year. The incidental fixations possible in Aristotle's time were thus limited to years in which the Olympic games actually took place. For establishing Empedocles' age a favourable factor was the coincidence of the years of his birth and death with the opening year of an Olympiad, *viz.* *Ol.* 74, 1 and *Ol.* 89, 1. I believe that this coincidence enabled Aristotle to establish Empedocles' age.

It remains uncertain whether the years of birth and death were mentioned in the list (*ut sup.* under *a*) or whether a biography – *e.g.* in the brief form of an inscription – stated that he was born in the year of X's victory in the Olympic contests and died in the year that Y was a victor. The second

supposition seems to be the most likely. In the first case, calculating Empedocles' term of life would have been an easy matter already for Hippias of Elis or any other scholar preceding Aristotle. The second case requires a thorough investigation of the material – inscriptions and suchlike – and a check of these data with the aid of the list. I believe Aristotle to have been the first to carry out these studies and that one of the results was the dating of Empedocles preserved in the above-mentioned fragments of Eratosthenes and Apollodorus.

The data relating to the years of Empedocles' birth and death are usually reconstructed in a different manner. Jacoby¹ starts from Glaucus' statement that Empedocles visited Thurii shortly after its foundation. Consequently, Apollodorus is said to have placed Empedocles' ἀκμή in the year of Thurii's foundation. Following this, Apollodorus is supposed to have used Aristotle's information that Empedocles lived to be sixty. The result is that Empedocles was forty in 444/3, he therefore was born in 484/3 and died in 424/3.²

This, however, does not explain how Aristotle, who did not yet use the ἀκμή for chronological purposes, came to know that Empedocles had lived to be sixty. I believe that the above exposition answers this question.

Aristotle's treatment of the chronology of Empedocles' life shows us a phase in the struggle for the chronological pattern. A complete list of the Olympic Victors was available at this stage, together with a number of incidental synchronisms. These synchronisms concerned events which had occurred in Olympic years. They served a twofold purpose in that they provided scholars with an opportunity for checking the list and also paved the way for a more extensive use of the Olympiads for dating events. This extensive use must have consisted in dating events which occurred in the second,

¹ *Apollodorus Chronik*, p. 272 ff. Cf. Morrison, CQ, XXXV, 1941, p. 2.

² The only point on which I differ from Jacoby in the dates concerns the year of birth. He puts it at 483/2 and I at 484/3.

third or fourth year of an Olympiad. An efficient application, however, was not possible till the cumbrous way of dating an Olympiad by the victor's name had been replaced by a more workable system, *viz.* one based on the number indicating the place of this Olympiad in the entire series of contests. Once the use of a number had been introduced in this method of dating, employing figures for counting the years within the Olympiad will have followed as a matter of course, and *vice versa*.

The application of the Olympic era originated in a remote past, in the desire to add to a person's achievements the mention of possible victories. In this way Herodotus (V, 71) mentions the Olympiads: 'Cylon was an Olympic Victor'. Soon an indication of the period in question followed: 'this happened when Androsthenes triumphed'. This is Thucydides' method of dealing with the matter (V, 49, 1)¹. Later, improvements found their way in, such as the indication of the Olympic year by the victor always in the same branch of sport, the *stadion* (no longer as with Thucydides in the *pankration*), but the principle remains the same. The victor's honour required his name to be recorded. It is this very touch of vanity that for a long time prevented the dating according to Olympiads and parts of Olympiads from becoming a serviceable era. Even Aristotle did not take this step, as is shown in the above exposition of the dating of Empedocles.

The advantage yielded by Aristotle's studies was this: he was the first to utilize the data found outside the list to check the dependability of the list. This is why the Hellenistic chronographers refer to him.

Why he should have shouldered this gigantic task may be explained along the following lines.

His work in drawing up the list of the *Pythionikai* had made him apprehensive of ancient datings, but when he started to examine the Olympic list he found one hopeful sign, *viz.* a visible and tangible proof of the age of the Olympic

¹ Cf. p. 43.

games consisting in the quoit bearing the names of Iphitus and Lycurgus. In Aristotle's view this quoit proved indubitably that the Spartan law-giver was connected with the institution of the contests. No other list could glory in such ancient documentary evidence. Here was a starting point from which to approach the past. His interest in the list of Olympic Victors is therefore inspired by his expectation to find thereby the pattern for drawing up a picture of the past. The question is whether his reliance on the quoit was justified.

§ 4. THE OLYMPIC QUOIT

In the following discussion it is assumed that the dating of Lycurgus went through three stages:

a the dating in the 10th or 11th century, according to the Spartan list of kings in the two houses¹. This list operates with generations of 40 years. Lycurgus is the son of Prytanis (according to Simonides, *Plut. Lyc.* 1) or, in the other family, the guardian of Leobotes.

b the linking of Lycurgus, independently of all chronologies, with the foundation of the Spartan state, dated by the Return of the Heraclids (*Xen. Lac. Resp.*, 10, 8).

c the linking of Lycurgus with Iphitus and the (renewed) institution of the Olympic contests. So with Aristotle, but it is not certain whether at the start this dating was independent of the genealogical chronology, or whether Aristotle made it for the first time. It is, however, certain that one of his main arguments must have been the Olympic quoit. Hermippus followed Aristotle.

Before we discuss this quoit we should review the further evolution. Two more stages may be observed here:

d the dating of Lycurgus in the ninth century as an ancient legislator, guardian of Charilaus, whose legislative work is dated in 885². This is the dating by Hellenistic chrono-

¹ Cf. Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik*, p. 114 ff. and my p. 67 ff.

² Possibly 869 (Ephorus, see p. 116), but cf. p. 132 on the explanation of the 500-year period, *Plut. Lyc.* 29, 10.

nographers, based on Ephorus¹, who is followed by the Laconian Sosibius. I believe this dating to have been an attempt to narrow the gap between *a* and *c* supra (cf. our remarks on Theopompos and Pheidon whose harmonizing dating we attributed also to Ephorus).

e Timaeus' solution, about one century after Ephorus, of the discrepancy between *c* and *d* consisting in assuming the existence of two Lycurgi (Plut. *Lyc.* 1, 4). Evidently *a* does not count any more².

It is not correct to conclude from Aristotle, *Politics* 1271 *b* 24 (*vide* § 2) that Aristotle in that instance accepted the tradition of Ephorus, but that in defending 776 as a date for Lycurgus he either overlooked the difference between the quoit-dating and this guardianship, or discovered the quoit later³. True, he calls Lycurgus the guardian of Charilaus, but the passage is a quotation announced by φασι and the statement is not necessarily Aristotle's⁴.

The words in which Plutarch (*Lyc.* 1) sums up Aristotle's view are as follows: οἱ μὲν γάρ Ἰφίτω συνακμάσαι καὶ συνδιαθεῖναι τὴν Ὀλυμπιακὴν ἐκεχειρίαν λέγουσιν αὐτὸν, ὃν ἔστι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλόσοφος, τεκμήριον προφέρων τὸν Ὀλυμπίασι δίσκον ἐν διονύσῳ τοῦ Λυκούργου διασφέζεται καταγγεγραμμένον.

This shows that Aristotle was not the only one. Plutarch himself mentions Hermippus (*Lyc.* 23). The latter's opinion, goes back to Aristotle, as does that of Hieronymus of Rhodes (belonging like Hermippus to the third century).

Ιερώνυμος δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ Κιθαρωδῶν, διπερ ἔστι πέμπτον περὶ Ποιητῶν, κατὰ Λυκούργον τὸν νομοθέτην τὸν Τέρπανδρόν φησι γενέσθαι, δις ὑπὸ πάντων συμφώνως ἴστορεῖται μετὰ Ἰφίτου τοῦ Ἡλείου τὴν πρώτην ἀριθμηθεῖσαν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων [θέσιν] διαθεῖναι (Athen. XIV, 635 F).

¹ See p. 148, not based on Dieuchidas.

² Phlegon of Tralles (FGrHist, 257, fr. 1) made a similar attempt.

³ Jacoby, *Apollodorus Chronik*, p. 118.

⁴ An opposite view in Kessler, *op. cit.*, p. 20, and Miss Chrimes, *op. cit.*, p. 324/5.

There are no indications that before Aristotle the quoit was used as an argument in favour of the dating of Lycurgus. This does not imply that the dating is Aristotle's. In view of his archaeological studies he most likely was the first to avail himself of this argument.

On the authority of Meyer¹ and Jacoby² there is almost universal agreement about the relation in time between Aristotle's and Ephorus' date for Lycurgus. Ephorus mentions the institution of the Olympic games but refers only to Iphitus: "Ιφιτόν τε διαθεῖναι τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν διγῶνα³. Consequently, Ephorus, so it is argued, was not aware of the linking of Iphitus with Lycurgus by Aristotle. I consider this a poor argument. It is at the base of the entire modern reconstruction of the evolution in Greek chronology. The above stages *c* and *d* are nearly always reversed and after the example of Ed. Meyer it is considered impossible that Hippias of Elis had already made this link. But we should bear in mind that according to Plutarch's words Aristotle connected Lycurgus with the Olympic truce, not with the institution of the games. The difference seems to be slight and therefore was overlooked already by the Peripatetics after Aristotle (cf. Hieronymus of Rhodes).

One independent scholar, whose untimely death is deeply to be regretted, challenged Meyer's views shortly after they were published, *viz.* J. Toepffer⁴. I refer the reader to this study but may be permitted the following quotation⁵.

'Iphitos ist der Stifter des Olympischen Wettkampfes: Ephorus b. Strab. VIII, 358. Die Neueren wundern sich mit Unrecht, dass er dabei nicht den Lykurg mitnennt: Meyer, Forsch. S. 274. Sie folgern, dass er nur den Iphitos als Stifter kenne. Das ist richtig: Iphitos ist der Stifter der Spiele. Hier

¹ *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, I, p. 240.

² *Apollodors Chronik*, p. 116, note 30.

³ Strabo VIII, 358 = FGrHist, 70, 115.

⁴ *Beitr. zur griech. Altert. wiss.*, 1897, p. 358 ff.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 359.

ist von dem Festfrieden gar nicht die Rede. Ephoros, der von der Stiftung der Spiele redet, hatte gar keine Veranlassung den Namen des Lykurg zu nennen. Mit der Gründung der Spiele hängt die Einsetzung des Festfriedens eng zusammen. Um einen Frieden zu garantieren, gehören sich mehr als einer. Lykurgos, als Vertreter Spartas, der im Namen seines Staates wohl den Eid zu leisten hatte. Ob noch Vertreter anderer Staaten auf diesem Diskos genannt waren, wissen wir nicht. Vielleicht auf besonderen Disken. Die Stiftung der Spiele 776. Von da die Zählung und Aufzeichnung der Sieger. Hier beanspruchen die Jahressahlen Glauben. Dagegen wird als Hauptargument angeführt, dass der erste spartanische Sieger erst Ol. 15 = 720 verzeichnet wird, nach den messenischen Kriegen. Meyer, G.d.A. II, 374: erst die Niederwerfung Messeniens eröffnet den Spartanern den Weg zu dem Feste. Vorher hätte Sparta die Unverletzlichkeit von Elis etwa so garantieren können, wie heute Serbien die Neutralität Belgiens. Doch hier handelt es sich in erster Linie um einen religiösen Akt. Auch solche Landschaften, deren Angehörige zunächst noch nicht an den Spielen teilnahmen, können diesen Gottesfrieden mit beschworen haben. Wir haben hier vielleicht nichts anderes als einen lediglich ceremoniellen Akt ohne irgendwelche politische Bedeutung. Ausser Lykurgos wird es vielleicht noch verschiedene andere *συνδιαθέντες τὴν δλυμπιακὴν ἔκεχειράν* gegeben haben, z.B. Vertreter der Arkader, die auch nicht in den ersten elf Olympiaden gesiegt haben. Es ist falsch, wenn man behauptet, dass Sparta mit Elis vor der Unterwerfung Messeniens keine Berührungen gehabt habe (Meyer, Forsch. S. 275). Das ist alles nur aus dem ersten spartanischen Sieg 720 geschlossen. Wir wissen nichts darüber, wie die Beziehungen zwischen Sparta und Elis vorher waren'.

Whatever our opinion on Toepffer's belief in the reliability of Aristotle's dating of Lycurgus, there is no doubt that he successfully refuted Meyer's argument based on Ephorus¹.

Another objection to the quoit's authenticity has been

¹ FGrHist, 70, 115.

that we can hardly believe the art of writing to have been known in Greece as early as the beginning of the eighth century¹. Some scholars, however, are too sure that the existence of a Greek inscription as early as 776 B.C. is not seriously to be envisaged. It is true that many archaeologists agree, that the earliest inscriptions (for instance the famous inscription of the Dipylon jug) date from *ca* 730. But if this dating is right, it seems reasonable to assume a considerably earlier date for the adoption of the alphabet². One of the very rare occasions, on which the new art of writing may have been put into practice during the first years of its existence in Greece, could have been the Olympic truce of 776.

Pausanias very likely refers to the same discus although he only mentions the inscription bearing Iphitus' name. He has seen it and says (V, 20, 1): ὁ δὲ τοῦ Ἰφίτου δίσκος τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν, ἦν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις ἐπαγγέλλονται οἱ Ἡλεῖοι, ταῦτην οὐκ ἐς εὐθὺς ἔχει γεγραμμένην, ἀλλ' ἐς κώνου σχῆμα περίεισαν ἐπὶ τῷ δίσκῳ τὰ γράμματα.

The way the inscription is described, 'the lettering ran round in a circle', suggests that the quoit made an archaic impression. The question is whether we are actually dealing with an archaic object or whether the intention was to lead the reader astray.

In favour of the view that we are dealing with a fake it may be argued that the inscription was made on a quoit. Miss

¹ One might answer to this objection that it is not necessary that the quoit is contemporary with the 'Stiftung der Spiele', but could be, say, 100 years later in date. I don't need this argumentation which would be offered only *pour le besoin de la cause*.

² Miss H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the art of writing*, AJA, LII, 1948, p. 20; *Homer and the Monuments*, 1950, p. 127 ff., 525.

Compare H. T. Wade-Gery, *The Poet of the Iliad*, 1952, p. 11-12. A survey of the discussions on the date of the adoption of the alphabet has been given by A. Rehm, *Handbuch der Archäologie*, I, 1939, p. 196 f. D. Diringer, *The Alphabet*, 1948, p. 452. J. G. Février, *Histoire de l'écriture*, 1948, p. 395. H. E. Stier, *Historia*, I, 1950, p. 200. I. J. Gelb, *A Study of Writing*, 1952, p. 178 ff.

Chrimes presents this argument in the following words¹: 'The Eleans at all events cannot have maintained that the discus cited by Aristotle and seen by Pausanias was inscribed at the time of the Olympic festival of 776 B.C., because at that time it would have been quite inappropriate to the occasion, discus-throwing not having been introduced until the Pentathlon was instituted in the eighteenth Olympiad (*i.e.* 708 B.C.)'.

With regard to the year 708, unlike the many hypercritics of Meyer's school, I agree with Miss Chrimes that these and other data about the extension of the games should be taken seriously. Brinkmann's study² has put this beyond doubt. On the other hand, it would be wrong to assume that an inscribed discus could not have been used until discus-throwing was included in the program. A round bronze disc bearing an inscription may look very similar to the attribute of the contest. A case in point is the clay disc of Phaestus.

We cannot trace the time when a round bronze disc used for other purposes than throwing came to be called a discus. In the case of the Olympic discus the transition was not difficult. Here was a disc-shaped inscription from a remote past³ presumably connected with the institution of the games (or rather with the Olympic truce, as we remarked before). It is not surprising that a generation, which had come to look upon discus-throwing as part of the contests, associated the shape of the bronze disc with this item on the program and spoke of 'the Olympic disc'. So Aristotle may have adopted the current term for this ancient object. We certainly are not bound to the theory that the discus cannot have been made till after the year 708 when discus-throwing became part of the program.

Miss Chrimes, who on the ground mentioned regards the discus as a fake, has to explain why the object was faked. She

¹ *Ancient Sparta*, p. 325.

² RM, LXX, 1915.

³ For an early inscribed quoit, see H. Jeffery, JHS, LXIX, 1949, p. 25 (IG, I², 806).

believes the citizens of Elis to have made the discus and to have used it to support their claim to the control of the games when *ca* 400 B.C. Sparta subjected Elis. Xenophon relates the troubles arising on that occasion ¹. The Eleans, so Miss Chrimes argues, supported their claim by alleging that the Spartan law-giver himself had sanctioned their rights by a solemn declaration as evidenced by the discus ². But in our tradition there is nothing to indicate that about the year 400 B.C. the Eleans should have had to vindicate their rights. The passage in Xenophon quoted by Miss Chrimes mentions different considerations on the part of the Spartans: τοῦ μέντοι προεστάντας τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου λεροῦ, καίπερ οὐκ ἀρχαίου Ἡλείοις ὅντος, οὐκ ἀπῆλασαν αὐτούς, νομίζοντες τούς ἀντιποιούμενούς χωρίτας εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἵκανούς προεστάντα.

Moreover the whole argument conflicts with Aristotle's view. To Miss Chrimes, too, Aristotle's testimony is important. Hence her attempt to demonstrate that for the date 776 Aristotle did not refer to the discus, Plutarch in this respect being mistaken. She starts from Arist. *Polit.* 1271 b 24 ff., a passage she believes – unjustifiably as we saw (p. 105) – to indicate Aristotle's dating: Lycurgus is the guardian of Charilaus who, following the example of Ephorus, should be dated *ca* 885. This random sifting of the data is supposed to prove the agreement between Ephorus and Aristotle. The Eleans' object in faking the quoit is said to have extended beyond supporting their claim up to 776, their intention having been to prove that their rights had been established in the ninth century, in 885, more than a century before the epoch of the Olympic list of victors (which at the time of the conflict referred to by Xenophon was already known through Hippias' work). To quote her own words: 'It may be assumed that the evidence of the discus was intended to prove that this earlier claim on the part of Elis, *going back far beyond the first Olympiad*, had been recognized also by the Spartans, and even

¹ *Hell.* III, 2, 31.

² *Ancient Sparta*, pp. 326/7.

enforced by them, no less a person than their own law-giver Lycurgus himself having given his sanction to it¹. If the discus intended to suggest the year 885 (in any case a 'ninth-century date') as the date for Iphitus and Lycurgus, and if Aristotle according to Ephorus adhered to this dating of Lycurgus, then the fake of *ca* 400 B.C. made Aristotle the victim of the Eleans, just as Ephorus before him.

I pointed out before that the basic error in these speculations lies in the wrong interpretation of Pol. 1271 *b* 24 and an arbitrary addition to Xen. Hell. III, 2, 31. The whole reconstruction of Lycurgus' appearance in 885 has been attempted in a stage of the chronology *following* the Aristotelian one. The starting point should be Plutarch's statement about the discus in 776. This was the date sanctioned by Aristotle. From the data, which are all post-Aristotelian², I conclude that the dating of Lycurgus in the ninth century was a means of reconciling Aristotle's data (which, however, had a past) with the old dating on the basis of the list of kings. One of these attempts was the dating of the Hellenistic period, mentioned above under *d*. Phlegon tried to bring about a reconciliation also with regard to the Olympiads, by assuming 27 Olympiads between Iphitus and the first victor in the dated Olympiad (Coroebus³ in 776), which gives the year 885, Apollodorus' date for Lycurgus⁴.

Phlegon's attempt and also that by Timaeus presenting two Lycurgi belong to the last stage mentioned above under *e*.

Miss Chrimes paid no regard whatsoever to the chronological sequence of the testimonia. She believes Plutarch (*Lyc.* 1), Phlegon (fr. 1) and Pausanias (V 4, 5: "Ιφιτος, ... ηλικιαν δε

¹ *op. cit.*, p. 327 (the italics are mine).

² Cf. the handy but not always reliable summary by H. Gelzer in RM, XXVIII, 1873, 'Beilage' to p. 30.

³ Paus. VIII, 26, 4: ήντα δε τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν 'Ολυμπικὸν ἐκδιπόντα ἐπιχρόνον πολὺν ἀνενεδόστο 'Ιφιτος καὶ αὐθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς 'Ολύμπια θύγαγον, τότε δρόμου σφίσιν ἀθλα ἐπέθη μόνον καὶ δέ Κάροιβος ἐνίσησε.

⁴ All this has been ably summarized by Jacoby, FGrHist, 257, I, II BD, p. 839.

κατὰ Λυκοῦργον τὸν γράψαντα Λακεδαιμονίοις τοὺς νόμους, τὸν διγῶνα διέθηκεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, πανήγυρίν τε Ὀλυμπικὴν αὗθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκεχειρίαν κατεστήσατο, ἐκλίποντα ἐπὶ χρόνον, ὅπόσος δὴ αὗτος ἦν) to be the only sources for the dating of Lycurgus in 776, but she leaves out Hermippus. She mentions him (p. 320) but evidently interprets his opinion in the same manner as she interprets Aristotle's views on the discus. She could never have done this with the testimonium of Hieronymus of Rhodes (of the third century B.C.¹ and therefore not younger than many of the Hellenistic datings). As this testimonium has been preserved in Athenaeus (XIV, 635) she has without further comment put it in his name² and classed it with statements by 'very late and second rate authorities' whose opinions are of little account compared with those of the reputable chronographers of the Hellenistic period. This is one way of discrediting all *testimonia* preserved in later authors!

There is one argument that might be advanced against Miss Chrimes which I left out on purpose, *viz.* a reference to the change in the synchronisms of Lycurgus in connection with Homer. This would be most obvious and the argument – in the words of Jacoby – would be as follows: 'und wer trotzdem glaubt, dass die ganze spätere zeit den Aristoteles nur missverstanden habe [as Miss Chrimes actually believes], der mag durch des Stagiriten eigene angaben widerlegt werden. denn nur wegen des von ihm gefundenen zeugnisses für Lykurgs zeit sah er sich veranlasst, den eben von Ephoros wieder festgestellten synchronismus desselben mit Homer aufzugeben, den Lykurg die Homerischen gedichte nicht vom dichter selbst auf Chios, sondern von den nachkommen des Kreophylos auf Samos empfangen zu lassen'³.

On one essential point I disagree with Jacoby. I believe that Aristotle's dating is older than that of Ephorus and possibly is not his invention at all but existed already before

¹ According to Jacoby, FGrHist, III B, p. 510: 290–230 B.C.

² *Ancient Sparta*, p. 328, note 3.

³ *Apollodorus Chronik*, p. 117.

him. Aristotle may have used the discus as an additional argument, or he may have stressed its value as compared with other arguments¹. I also fail to see why a synchronism between Lycurgus and the poet Homer should have had to precede a synchronism between the law-giver and Creophylus' descendants.

Our information about Lycurgus' meeting with the descendants of Creophylus, Homer's legendary son-in-law, is the following. Heracl. *pol.* II, 3: Λυκοῦργος ἐν Σάμῳ ἐγένετο καὶ 'Ομήρου ποιήσιν παρὰ τῶν ἀπογόνων Κρεοφύλου λαβὼν πρῶτος διεκόσμησεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον. Plut. *Lyc.* IV, 4: ἐκεῖ [in Ionia] δὲ καὶ τοῖς 'Ομήρου ποιήμασιν ἐντυχὼν πρῶτον, ὡς ἔσκε παρὰ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις τοῖς Κρεοφύλου διατηρουμένοις.

None of these statements mention a controversy between Aristotle and Ephorus, nor is there any indication of a connection between the dating of Homer and the struggle between the chronological methods. The question whether the pre-Aristotelian tradition has a dating of Homer which Aristotle may have contrasted with one of his own, leads us not to Ephorus (who belongs to a later stage) but to Herodotus. We do not know on what his dating of Homer (II, 53) in the middle of the ninth century is based (four hundred years before his own time). Probably it was derived from the Samian Homerids². Quite possibly Aristotle opposed this dating of the poet (which existed long before Ephorus), whilst not till after Aristotle did the chronologists use this old dating, sanctioned as it was by Herodotus, with the object of dating Lycurgus, making it a constructed synchronism. There is also the possibility that Aristotle opposes those who dated the poet much earlier³, e.g. in the time of the Trojan war or the

¹ Cf. p. 104.

² Cf. Van Groningen, *Comm. ad loc.*

³ The words ἀπόγονοι (Heracl.) and ἔγγονοι (Plut.) show also that it is not necessarily a question of only a few generations, but that the difference in the dating of Homer may have covered a much longer period.

Ionian migration or the return of the Heraclids¹. But as these data have only been preserved in very late sources, I prefer to presume that Aristotle opposed the dating by Herodotus.

If this is correct – and for the present I see no ground for a different theory – then it disposes of the strong time-connection laid by Jacoby between (in his opinion the earlier) Ephorus and (in his opinion the later) Aristotle. It also invalidates the argument based on this connection in favour of Aristotle's dating of Lycurgus. This explains why I am not making use of it in opposition to Miss Chrimes' theory.

This, however, does not imply that I share her opinion that writers of a very late period misunderstood Aristotle. My point is that Aristotle's statement regarding Creophylus' descendants is a response not to Ephorus but to Herodotus. This different view on the aim of Aristotle's statement leaves its authenticity intact.

§ 5. EPHORUS' SUPPORT FROM HERODOTUS IN HIS OPPOSITION TO THE 'ARISTOTELIAN' CHRONOLOGY: THE DATING OF HOMER

For the sake of clarity I may first of all summarize the present section. My conjecture is that the data which make Lycurgus a contemporary of Homer² start from the dating of the poet in the first quarter of the ninth century (giving 876 or 885 for the year of their meeting). This dating of Homer is based on Herodotus (II, 53). It served Ephorus' purpose when he was faced by the problem how to find a system that remained genealogical but rejected both the 40-year generation and at the same time the Olympic dating (the Hippias-Aristotle tradition). In other words, he looked for a compromise between 987 (calculated on the basis of the 14 generations of 40 years each; see Plut. *Lyc.* 29, 10) and 777/6, i.e.

¹ A summary of the testimonia by Bowra in OCD, cf. Jacoby, *Apollodorus Chronik*, p. 98 ff.

² Ephorus, FGrHist, 70, fr. 102, 173–175. Timaeus, very probably, in Plut. *Lyc.* I. 4. Sosibius, FGrHist, 595, fr. 2.

between the traditional Spartan genealogy of the list of kings and the Olympic era. So with regard to the dating of Homer Ephorus has the support of Herodotus. Another point in which he agrees with Herodotus is the calculation by three generations to the century (Herodotus II, 142, 2). The agreement in this respect between Herodotus and *Ephorus' compromise* may not have had an immediate influence but was all the same a welcome detail.

The first definite year in Eratosthenes' table is 776, the first year of the first Olympiad¹.

If events before 776 were to be dated, recourse was had to the genealogical method of dating, in which the duration of the γενεά depended on the method applied. In this way, so Laqueur² and others argue, Ephorus dated Homer: three generations or 100 years in all before the first Olympiad. If this is correct, then Ephorus' dating of Homer (FGrHist, 70, fr. 102) took place when the year 776 and the Olympic chronology were already in use.

Against this the following objection may be advanced. A synchronism between Homer and Lycurgus was effected in two different ways. According to one tradition they were contemporaries and their meeting was dated in 885. According to the other one Lycurgus learnt of Homer's poetry through his meeting with Creophylus' descendants, which is connected with the dating in 776. It is tempting to regard the first tradition as the older. When, later on, chronology began to operate with the year 776, so the argument goes, the synchronism of Homer and Lycurgus, the year 885, had to be discarded and consequently the law-giver was made a contemporary of Creophylus' sons. If this argument were correct, Ephorus' genealogical chronology (having 876 and 885³ for

¹ Cf. Jacoby, *Apollodorus Chronik*, p. 76, Kessler, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

² R. Laqueur, *Zur griechischen Sagenchronographie*, Hermes, XLII, 1907, pp. 513/552, partic. 527.

³ The latter year is a deduction by chronographers who followed Ephorus' method.

'Homer' years) would have preceded the chronology based on the first Olympiad.

It is not surprising that Jacoby, who – as we saw – regards the dating of Lycurgus in the period of Creophylus' descendants posterior to his dating in Homer's time, also rejects the possibility that the dating in 876 could have ever been based on the Olympic system. Jacoby distinctly expresses this view again and again¹. His starting point is that Ephorus only calculated with the aid of γενεά. I agree with Jacoby that these γενεά were counted as three to the century². His interpretation of the dating of Lycurgus by Apollodorus brings Jacoby back to Ephorus. Jacoby believes that Ephorus, basing himself on the Spartan list of kings and more especially on the date of Charilaus, dated the constitution in 869 and Lycurgus' meeting with Homer in Chios at most 18 years earlier, before his guardianship³. Hence his views amount to this that we should not speak of 'a dating of Homer in 876'⁴, that the first Olympiad had no part in Ephorus' dating, that Laqueur's arguments in favour of the 'Ephoric' year 776/5 are 'modern empfundene' and that the latter's statement that for Ephorus the close of the mythical period coincides with the first Olympiad is but a *petitio principii*⁵.

¹ *Apollodors Chronik*, p. 105 ff. FGrHist, 70, comm. ad 102 b, 173, 174 and 223.

² Jacoby, FGrHist, IIC, p. 101, 13 ff. Prakken differs in assuming 35 years for the generations in Ephorus, whilst Barber (*The Historian Ephorus*, 1935) takes them at 30 years.

³ 'danach scheint er (Ephorus) Homers zeit bestimmt zu haben, sodass nicht ausgeschlossen ist, dass das jahr 876 wirklich seiner ansicht genau entspricht; jedenfalls thut es das im groben' (*Apollodors Chronik*, p. 105 en FGrHist, 244, 64).

⁴ FGrHist, IIC, p. 61, 42ff. ad 70, 102: 'das j. 876 kann im groben E's ansatz wiedergeben, mehr darf man nicht sagen, da E nicht mit absoluten daten, sondern mit generationen und synchronismen arbeitete, und zwar hier mit dem synchronismus zwischen Homer und Lykurgos. er bringt Homer, vom ephorischen Trojadatum (F. 223) gerechnet in die 8., vom eratosthenischen gerechnet, in die 9. generation nach Troias fall'.

⁵ *op. cit.*, p. 101, 42/102, 2.

Apollodorus, so Jacoby assumes¹, following Rohde, quoted Ephorus only as an authority who mentioned the meeting between the poet and the law-giver, and not as an authority for the poet's *ἀκμή*. That would not have been possible, because in Apollodorus' system the poet flourished in 944/3².

Jacoby's reconstruction of the chronological controversy is as follows. The meeting between Homer and Lycurgus was denied, after Ephorus, by Aristotle who dated Lycurgus a century later, by Eratosthenes who dated Homer two hundred years before Lycurgus (the latter in 885), and by Apollodorus' teacher Aristarchus who dated Homer in the time of the Ionian migration. 'Diesen autoritäten gegenüber stellte Apollodorus als klassischen zeugen den mann, der als erster die geschichte vom persönlichen zusammentreffen des gesetzgebers mit dem dichter zwar nicht erfunden, aber verbreitet hatte, Ephorus'³.

The whole argument and the conclusion look to me a little strained. I do not refer to Apollodorus' inconsistent use of the datings in Ephorus. Neither Ephorus nor Apollodorus slavishly copies his source. Ephorus follows Herodotus only in the dating of Homer, not in the pedigree of Lycurgus (I, 65), who is classed by Herodotus with the Agiad house⁴. Apollodorus on his part follows Ephorus only in the matter of the synchronism between Lycurgus and Homer, not for the dating of the law-giver himself.

I regard Jacoby's reconstruction as unsatisfactory mainly because, in trying to solve problems, he only creates other and bigger ones, without realizing it. The first problem is: For what reason did Ephorus spread the story of the meeting between Homer and Lycurgus? This implies the next questions: why was this synchronism invented and why did Apollodorus,

¹ *Apollodors Chronik*, p. 105 and FGrHist, II C, p. 747, 33.

² Nepos: 914/3, see Jacoby, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

³ *op. cit.*, p. 106.

⁴ Cf. for the independence of the Hellenistic chronographers p. 28-29 above.

who possessed a date for Homer inconsistent with the meeting in question, still use Ephorus' synchronism?

In answering these questions I assume that the Olympic era was in use, through Hippias' work and probably even earlier than Hippias (not in the later form of counting the years within the Olympiad but in a preceding stage, cf. p. 44 and 101).

If it is assumed that the year 776 already exercised its fascinating influence before Ephorus and Aristotle and that it divided historians in two camps, then it can be imagined that Ephorus, the champion of genealogy, looked for a possibility of maintaining his method of dating, a method so intimately connected with the traditional manner in which the past was recalled. Just as Aristotle (probably before Ephorus, but the chronological order is immaterial for the argument¹) found a valuable document in the quoit, so Ephorus believed he could corroborate his dating by a spectacular synchronism that could be linked with an equally spectacular authority, i.e. Herodotus (II, 53). Conceivably Herodotus' words $\mu\epsilon\nu$ πρεσβυτέρους, according to Ephorus and his followers, were reckoned from the historian's *birthday*. Moreover Ephorus could not explain the words $\&\zeta$ ἐμέ, unless they were taken to stand for birth or death, though never for $\alpha\chi\mu\eta$. II, 53 would place Homer, who lived four hundred years before Herodotus, in the beginning of the ninth century. Ephorus, being a genealogical chronographer, calculated in round numbers and three generations served for bridging the 100-years-gap between 776 and his Herodotean date for Homer. Ephorus' spectacular synchronism later obtained so much authority that even Apollodorus, who differed from Ephorus in the dating of Homer, still had to refer to it in support of his dating of Lycurgus on which he agreed with Ephorus.

This answers the three questions posed above. The dogma

¹ According to Prakken, AJP, LXII, 1941, p. 348/51, is 334 the terminus ante quem for Ephorus' list of kings. Even if he is right (but see p. 140 ff.) it is quite possible that Aristotle presented his publication before this year.

of Jacoby's chronological studies lacks foundation. It consists of two articles of faith:

1. the Olympic era was introduced at a very late date and applied ready-made, including the counting of the Olympiads and the counting of the years within each Olympiad. The Aristotelian dating of Lycurgus in the time of the first Olympiad does not mean that time-reckoning on the basis of Olympiads existed already, but is a mere coincidence;

2. the idea of reconstructing the list of victors into a chronological system came at a late date, but this is not strange as one has to assume that these lists in the beginning were merely 'bare' lists.

Both these opinions are questionable. For the second point I may refer to the sections above on Theopompus and Pheidon. As regards the first point, a study of Herodotus II, 53 and Ephorus' data¹, combined with our knowledge of Aristotle's activities, shows that the latter's dating of Lycurgus is more than coincidental. The Stagirite is known as a chronologist, as is shown by his work on the list of *Pythionikai*. It seems very unlikely that his dating of Lycurgus in 776 should have no connection with chronological studies for the list of *Olympionikai*. How he got out of the impasse in the matter of Charilaus we can only guess. Probably he regarded a reconciliation as a hopeless undertaking.

We should start from our oldest datum, Herodotus. His dating of Homer makes a link between the poet and the law-giver impossible for Aristotle. The question is whether Aristotle realized this impossibility. Probably not. In view of the uncertainty in the dating of Homer, he did not wish to include in his discussion a possible synchronism between the two famous figures but was content to remark that Lycurgus learnt of the poems through Creophylus' descendants (a vague indication useless for chronological purposes). The remark did not intend to convey more than that the Spartan law-giver travelled in Ionia and there, in the circle of Homerids, learnt of Homer's

¹ Particularly FGrHist, 70, 102.

poems. Considering the dominant position of Homer's poetry in Greek civilization, association with another leading figure in another cultural field, that of legislation, is understandable. Aristotle did associate the two but not through any chronological relation. Probably the association existed before him.

Then appeared his opponents. They looked, as we saw, for a compromise between genealogy and the 'Aristotelian' calculation. An authority was needed to support this compromise and Herodotus' dating of Homer appeared to be a valuable help as it fitted in very well with the compromise. If we add to this Aristotle's innocent remark on the manner in which Lycurgus got to know of Homer's poetry, we can imagine the argument of Ephorus, the first author of a compromise, to have been along these lines: 'Herodotus provides me with an argument for dating Homer about a century earlier than 776. If I can manage to make Lycurgus a contemporary of Homer, then the law-giver is also dated a century earlier. This is possible because the list of kings shows three generations of kings between 776 and the (earlier) king Charilaus who had Lycurgus for a guardian. These three generations number 100 years (here, too, Ephorus diverges from the list with 40-year generations). The result is a system which links the law-giver with the poet and which is based on Herodotus and on the list of kings (although with a different calculation of the generations)'. — The words in brackets are mine and not part of the supposed argument.

Aristotle's radicalism was not maintained in later chronology. One way or another, a compromise had to be effected between the Olympic dating for Lycurgus and the dating in 876, which itself was already a compromise. Timaeus' solution in assuming the existence of two Lycurgi is an illustration of the attempts to reconcile the 776 and the 876 traditions. Phlegon¹ records another attempt: 776 is not the beginning of the Olympiad calculation but 27 Olympiads preceding the epoch of the Olympic era have to be added. Obviously, we are

¹ FGrHist, 257, fr. 1.

dealing here with an explanation of the difference between the reckoning in Olympiads and Eratosthenes' year 885 for Lycurgus. Phlegon's solution may be found already in the second century B.C. in Aristodemus of Elis¹ and Polybius². To the same category belongs the seemingly different theory of Callimachus³ that there was a lapse of 13 Olympiads between the institution of the Olympiads by Iphitus and Lycurgus and the first champion in the recorded series, Coroebus, in 776. We meet here the tradition, the soundness of which is beyond verification, that in the beginning the Olympic games were held every eight years⁴.

With regard to the above interpretation, Callimachus brings us in the middle of the third century B.C. The question is whether there are earlier traces of attempts to reconcile the institution of the Olympic games by Lycurgus and the list of kings. I believe this to be the case.

Xenophon dates Lycurgus in the period of the Heraclids (*Lac. Resp.*, 10, 8). Is this dating the result of a puerile wish to have the date of the legislation coincide with the foundation of the

¹ FGrHist, 414, fr. 1.

² FGrHist, 254, fr. 2.

³ Fr. 541, Pf.

⁴ Formerly Jacoby denied this possibility and believed Callimachus to have actually meant 13 Olympiads of four years and hence to have placed Lycurgus in 828. In his opinion this could agree with Thucydides' dating of Lycurgus, *i.e.* the four hundred odd years in I, 18, 1. But, in the first place, the passage in Thucydides should be interpreted differently (cf. p. 83) and, secondly, the passages quoted by Jacoby (Pind. Ol., III, 21 and Paus. V, 7, 9), supposed to dispose of an ennaëteric celebration, do not exclude that possibility. Nor is the calculation correct that $13 \times 8 = 104$ and $27 \times 4 = 108$ should prevent the assumption of ἑνναëτηπλῆσε instead of κενταëτηπλῆσε. Fourteen times 8 is equal to 112 and when Olympiads of 8 years are used a period of 108 could be indicated only by 13 Olympiads, the more so when the expedient of indicating odd years by using parts of an Olympiad had not yet been introduced. Jacoby evidently has, wholly or partly, abandoned his opposition. In *Apollodorus Chronik* he rejected the possibility of ἑνναëτηπλῆσε (p. 124, note 5), but in FGrHist, II BD, p. 838, 37 he raises the matter interrogatively.

Spartan state, as is generally believed, or are we dealing here with an early attempt to oppose the dating of Lycurgus according to the 'Aristotelian' tradition (perhaps existent even before Aristotle)? If the latter should be the case, then we meet here with a response to the presumed existence of a link between Lycurgus and the first Olympiad, a synchronism more primitive than that of Ephorus. The legislator is dated in the period immediately following the legendary foundation by Heracles. This, too, means a departure from the old tradition which on the basis of the list of kings dated Lycurgus either in the tenth century as a Eurypontid (Simonides) or in the eleventh as an Agiad (Herodotus). To my knowledge the question has never been asked why Xenophon departed from the Spartan list of kings and its dating of Lycurgus. I regard it as very unlikely that we have here an example of the Greek tendency to place the πρῶτος ἐρετής as early as possible¹.

Such an unorthodox dating of Lycurgus comes as a surprise from Xenophon. What made him do it? Very probably he borrowed it from a Spartan source which sought to replace the dating of Lycurgus in such a late period as that suggested by the link with the first dated Olympiad, by a connection of Lycurgus with the oldest (but undated) Olympiad known by tradition. The founder of the games was Heracles and the Heraclids were the founders of the royal houses. The earliest date that reverence for the law-giver's age could think of was a date in the Heraclids' period. I would therefore – in order to explain an otherwise unaccountable deviation by the orthodox Xenophon – assume that already in the first half of the fourth century the dating of Lycurgus in 776 existed, but that it did not become generally known till the work of Aristotle, *viz.* the association with the discus. If this should be correct, then the question whether Ephorus preceded Aristotle or succeeded him loses much of its bearing on the struggle for the

¹ Cf. for this tendency A. Kleinguenther, Πρῶτος Εὔρετής, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte einer Fragestellung*, Philol., Suppl. Bd. 26, Heft 1, 1933.

chronological pattern because in that case the conflict over the dating of Lycurgus either on the basis of Olympiads (where he is made to head the Olympic era) or according to the list of kings will have started before. This stage may have been launched by Hippias. Ephorus' work then appears to have been on the same lines as what he did in the matter of dating Pheidon ¹.

Against this reconstruction the objection may be raised that it regards dating on the basis of the Spartan kings list as a purposely applied system which makes it possible to date the law-giver through the date of his pupil. Admittedly, dating on the basis of generations of forty-years *in the beginning* did not permit an accurate indication of the time in which persons related to the kings lived. But this supports rather than disproves my conjecture. As long as the purpose of chronology was to register not periods or points of time but only their sequence, it was possible to experiment with various genealogical systems, with *γενεά* of different duration. Already before Ephorus the inadequacy of *γενεά* of forty years was obvious. The opponents of the traditional Spartan *γενεά* of kings, too, had observed this and had used it probably against this chronology. In his compromise, which reduced by about one half the gap between the Olympic dating of Lycurgus and that according to the list of kings, Ephorus adhered to the genealogy but he reckoned by *γενεά* of 33½ years ².

In its oldest stage, when the authority of the Spartan list of kings was still untouched, chronology did not fix points of time but only gave their sequence. Dating according to Olympiads (at first not numbered and without indication of second, third or fourth years) brought an attempt at fixation conflicting not with the chronological sequence of the list of kings but with the duration of the generations. It compelled the champions of the genealogical dating to take this fixation into account. Ephorus did so, as is shown by his compromise.

¹ See p. 58.

² not 35 years, as Prakken asserts, see p. 116.

On p. 118 we remarked that Ephorus made use of the year 876 probably because it had the spectacular support of Herodotus' dating of Homer. We might expect a man like Ephorus to have attempted to find support for his opinion in the chronology. This was not so difficult, as three generations make one hundred years. But the question is whether the difference of 108 years between Aristotle's date for Lycurgus and the Hellenistic date (885) also can be explained by means of the genealogical method. I submit the following tentative explanation.

My starting point is *Plut. Lyc.* 29, 10 stating that Lycurgus' laws remained unaltered during fourteen generations of kings, until the reign of Agis II (427/399), the son of Archidamus¹.

1. If these generations are taken as 40-year generations it places Lycurgus in the tenth century ($14 \times 40 = 560$ years).
2. The Olympic dating which later had Aristotle's support gave the year 776; it was established without any recourse to genealogy.

3. It may be assumed that Aristotle or his followers began to employ empirical regnal periods (just as their opponents applied empirical generations) of 25 years, for instance. If we start again from the year 427 in which Agis II took office, we find a date for Lycurgus in the eighth century *viz.* 777 ($14 \times 25 = 350$)².

4. The difference between the methods *sub* 1 and *sub* 2-3 amounts to 210 years. Eratosthenes sought an intelligent way of reducing this gap and first of all availed himself of the more modern dating of Herodotus, who according to the *Δεκα* method was born in 485. Moreover, the following provisions had to be observed:

¹ The fact that here a period of 500 years is also mentioned may be passed over as it has no bearing on the present argument (cf. p. 131 *fl.*).

² A distinction should be made between regnal periods and generations, cf. Burn, *JHS*, LV, 1935. For the Olympic era we find 777/6 and 776/5 as epochal date with which the year given above agrees.

a the genealogy was to be maintained, but extreme measures like those adopted by Xenophon's source had to be avoided and at the same time the unworkable counting by generations of forty years had to be abandoned.

b the Olympic dating according to Hippias' Olympiads had to be discarded but, if possible, the opponents had to be attacked with their own weapons, in other words, an 'Olympic' year had to be chosen, a multiple of four years distant from 776. This permitted the avoidance of Xenophon's flimsy fabrication (by 'in the time of the Heraclids' he meant, I believe, 'during the first Olympiad organized by man after the heroic period when Heracles had instituted the games'). It also permitted however the use of the tradition that prior to the recording of the names of victors there had already been Olympiads (cf. Pind. *Ol.* III, 21).

The provision under *b* left the option between 104 and 108 years for the purpose of halving the difference of 210 years.

The provision under *a* could, if Ephorus' genealogy was used, be complied with if two points were established:

A the difference of approximately 105 years in either direction, if measured by the genealogy of the list of kings, is equal to three generations. That Herodotus' information was available was no doubt a factor that counted. Three generations are equal to one hundred years (if on the example of Prakken we put the generation at 35 years the result is even more favourable). In any case, the fact that between the date of the old list and that of Herodotus' synchronism we find three kings warrants the conclusion that 1 and 4 are at least one hundred years apart.

B the difference between the fourteen generations in the new calculation and the 40-years system amounts to 14 times 7 years (Greek arithmetic knew no fractional numbers), that is 98 years. This extreme limit agrees very well with the one hundred years computed under *A*.

Eratosthenes then had to choose a year differing at least 98 (or 100) years with the old calculation. This was not so

difficult, as there was a margin of a few years that could easily be explained away. The fact had surely not remained unobserved that an event dated on the basis of generations was far from being fixed. The methods mentioned under *A* and *B* provide only a vague basis. The dating by his opponents, however, compelled him to use a more accurate basis: Eratosthenes was bound to choose 'an Olympic year before the first Olympiad'.

His choice of the 108 years in my opinion is to be attributed to the desire to oppose the dating in 776 in the most convincing manner. If Eratosthenes had only looked for agreement with his own genealogy he would have taken either the number 100 or 104. But this would have implied discarding his most valuable support, Herodotus' statement. The fact that Herodotus' words could be interpreted as an indication that 885 was the time in which Homer had lived, that this year served as a synchronism between Lycurgus and Homer and that the distance between this year and 777/6 was a multiple of four years, all this made his choice easy.

My conclusion is that the dating of Lycurgus in 876 and later in 885 was influenced by the date 776, which was already in use earlier on.

But with regard to the genealogical chronology Ephorus and his Hellenistic followers had taken too many liberties. First of all, they had departed from the traditional 40 years, and secondly they had gone too far, for the sake of Herodotus' information about Homer. It is small wonder that genealogical chronology after Ephorus began to fix regnal periods in the various generations and to make up stories about the life of leading figures, particularly of Lycurgus (amongst the *makrobiοι* for example) – all this in an attempt to salvage as much of the system as possible.

§ 6. PLUTARCH, LYCURGUS 29, 10-11

10. Τοσοῦτον ἡ πόλις ἐπρώτευσε τῆς Ἑλλάδος εὐνομίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ, χρόνον ἑτῶν πεντακοσίων τοῖς Λυκούργου χρησαμένη νόμοις,

οὓς δεκατεσσάρων βασιλέων μετ' ἑκεῖνον εἰς Ἀγριν τὸν Ἀρχιθάμου γενομένων οὐδεὶς ἔκινησεν.

11. ἡ γὰρ τῶν ἑφόρων κατάστασις οὐκ ἀνεσὶς ἦν ἀλλ' ἐπίτασις τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ δοκοῦσα πρὸς τοῦ δήμου γεγονέναι, σφραρτέραν ἐποίησε τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν.

The importance of this passage reaches far beyond the interpretation of the words. We have observed before that Plutarch in his Life of Lycurgus follows Aristotle's chronology. Even where a departure seemed evident, *viz.* the dating of the ephors (*Lyc.* 7), an interpretation appeared possible and even desirable, which showed the ephors to have been dated according to Aristotle's chronology. We also observed that Aristotle's great opponent in the field of chronology was Ephorus. From the fact that so many students¹ regard the time-reckoning in *Lyc.* 29, together with other data in the closing chapters of the *Vita*, as due to Ephorus it would seem to follow that Plutarch here, as on so many other occasions, proves to be a poor chronographer and unaware of the differences between Aristotle and Ephorus.

It seems easy to make this accusation for want of a proper solution. The problem we are facing here is the following. Did Plutarch, who for dating every part of Lycurgus' life faithfully follows the Aristotelian tradition, suddenly adopt another tradition, in fact that of his opponent? Ziegler might be right in blaming Plutarch for treating 'die historischen Tatsachen (insbesondere auch die Chronologie) mit einer an Leichtfertigkeit grenzenden Sorglosigkeit'², and we might even agree with Ziegler's conclusion: 'Als Historiker ist er nicht ernst zu nehmen'³. But this only increases our difficulties. An incom-

¹ Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik*, p. 115/6, part. n. 28; Kessler, *op. cit.*, p. 8 and Jacoby, *FGrHist*, II C, p. 86, 5; 247, 28.

² Cf. *Plutarchos von Chaironeia*, 1949, col. 273.

³ I would not like to endorse this judgment. How opinions may change even in the one individual is shown by two quotations from Grundy: 'Plutarch is not a historian but a biographer who wrote for an audience which wanted a sufficient leaven of moral considerations to give comfort to the serious minded reader' (*Thucydides and*

petent historian and chronicler once he has found an authority (good or bad) whom he could follow would be expected not to diverge from this authority. Those who allege (I believe without any proof) that Plutarch did not consult Aristotle but borrowed from a source influenced by Aristotle, for example Hermippus, only shift the problem from Plutarch to this Peripatetic.

We should distinguish between two kinds of chronological indications. A biography that claims to be a real historical work in the modern sense requires accurate chronological data. In this respect Plutarch's work falls short (but in my view it does not stand condemned). The chronological indications we mean if we deal with the life of Lycurgus are of a different nature. They are hardly relative to the hero's career but to the chronological frame, the pattern into which his biography fits. In Plutarch this chronological frame is never absent, least of all in the biographies of men from a remote and almost inaccessible past. The many chronological flaws in Plutarch's *Lives* may be explained by the ethical and educational nature of his work, as has been demonstrated by Gomme and Ziegler. The chronological frame in the oldest biographies is an element of form independent of the chronological sequence of events within the lives described. In the Life of Lycurgus Plutarch hardly troubles himself about this chronological sequence, but a considerable part of his introduction is devoted to the chronological frame. He enumerates the various views and undoubtedly he makes a choice. He chooses Aristotle's chronology.

Each departure from Aristotle therefore requires an explanation. It would be a feeble argument to dispose of each divergence by attributing it to Plutarch's sources; and it is certainly *the history of his age*, I, 1911, p. 105). But in vol. II, 1948, he writes: 'Plutarch is much more trustworthy a historian than some modern writers have judged him to be' (p. 18, n. 1). For a sound and sober judgment in keeping with the second quotation, see Gomme, *Commentary on Thuc.*, I, 1945, p. 81 ff.; cf. C. Theander, *Plutarch und die Geschichte*, Bull. de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund, 1950-'1, p. 1-86.

wrong to explain an evident departure from the chronological pattern by referring to his slight interest in the chronological sequence of events in the career in question.

A. That *Lyc.* 29, 10-11 diverges from Aristotle has often been pointed out. The statement that Lycurgus' laws lasted for *five hundred years* may also be found elsewhere¹.

The period of five hundred years is generally made to end with the battle of Leuctra².

As the battle of Leuctra brought liberty to the Messenians, the period of five hundred years for Lycurgus' laws is sometimes associated with a similar period for this Spartan hegemony (so [Plut.] *Inst. Lac.*, 42, 239 F) in which case the duration of the rule over Messenia is also stated, *viz.* 230 years (Ael. *v. h.* XII, 42); this also in [Plut.] *Reg. et Imp. Apophth.* 23 (194 B). We note that Ps.-Plutarch, in both these passages, and Aelian are the only writers who connect the 500 and the 230 years in a single passage.

B. Besides this there is the tradition that the Spartan hegemony lasted for *four hundred years* (*Dinarch.*, I, 73), again reckoned from Leuctra or immediately after: Epaminondas founded Messene in the four-hundredth year of the Spartan hegemony. Diod. VII, 12, 8 connects this with Lycurgus' laws: after the establishment of the laws Sparta flourished and had the hegemony for 400 years. Diodorus is one of those who follow Ephorus and Aristotle alternately, because it is obvious that the data mentioned under B correspond with Aristotle's dating of Lycurgus in 776. The hundreds are meant as an approximation.

Our tradition for B is roughly as old as that for A.

¹ A list of these places in Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik*, p. 115, note 28. They should be studied separately. *Mor.* 194 B for instance does not belong here. For an interpretation of this passage and the 230 years mentioned there cf. p. 81 *supra*.

² So *Lycurg.*, in *Leocr.* 62; Nicol. Damasc., FGrHist, 90, frag. 56; Diod. XV, 1, 2; 50, 2; 65, 1. In the latter passage the five hundred years are counted from 369. The year 869 is the date for Lycurgus' laws.

The first testimony for A comes from Lycurgus († 324), for B from Dinarchus (born *ca* 360). Quite possibly their dating reflects the conflict between the two schools represented by Aristotle and Ephorus.

The link between Lycurgus' laws and the beginning of the hegemony that lasted till the battle of Leuctra is best formulated in Polybius, IV, 81, 12: Λαχεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Λυκούργου νομοθεσίας καλλίστη χρησάμενοι πολιτείᾳ καὶ μεγίστην ἔχοντες δύναμιν ἔως τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχης, αὗτις ἐπὶ τάναντία τραπείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς τύχης, ... τέλος πλείστων μὲν πόνων καὶ στάσεων ἐμφυλίων πεῖραν εἶχον.

These words do not reveal Polybius' opinion. He does not speak of 500 or of 400 years. The sequel of his exposition may explain Plut. *Lyc.* 29, 11. The latter passage shows that at least in Plutarch's time opinions differed on the beginning of the 500 year period. Some believed, so Plutarch's words seem to imply, that since the institution of the ephorate Sparta had a new constitution. Obviously these historians made the 500-year period start from the inauguration of the ephorate; and consequently it ended at its abolition. Tradition linked the institution with Theopompus and the abolition with Cleomenes III. Of the latter it is indeed permissible to say that he overthrew the constitution. Polybius refers to this in so many words (IV, 81, 14): ἐναργέστατα δ' ἔστιν ἀφ' οὗ Κλεομένης δλοσχερῶς κατέλυσε τὸ πάτριον πολίτευμα. Although he puts the end of the hegemony at the time of the battle of Leuctra, his words do not imply that at the same time Lycurgus' laws became inoperative. He refers neither to this nor to the duration of the law.

So, according to the historians opposed by Plutarch in *Lyc.* 29, 11, the end of the 500-year period came between the years 235 and 221. They also held that it began under Theopompus. The latter's reign, according to the current interpretation of Tyrtaeus' poem, coincided with the first Messenian war. These wars also played at least some part in the testimonies mentioned under A, and it seems likely that the same applies to the later historians. Their method may have been as follows.

If it may be assumed that they also used the date of this war as derived from the list of Olympic victors and so dated the war in 736/16, that they dated Theopompus roughly in the same period, and finally that they calculated the 500 years in question on the basis of these dates for the first Messenian war, then the end of this period would fall in 236/217. This roughly coincides with the reign of Cleomenes III when according to many testimonies, including that of Polybius, the constitution was thoroughly revised. However, a calculation in reverse is equally, or even more, feasible. The dates of Cleomenes' reign were known, and by connecting the 500 years with the ephorate the traditional dating of Theopompus and of the first Messenian war was corroborated.

If we have here a late chronological speculation appearing after Cleomenes III's unhappy rule, we can well understand that Plutarch, a follower of Aristotle's dating, opposed this. However, another question then arises: why does he speak of 500 years, not of 400 years as we might have expected? We should start from the end of *Lyc.* 29, 10, a time-indication we have, so far, not yet discussed, *viz.* Lycurgus' laws remained in force during fourteen kings till Agis II (427/399). From this it follows that according to Plutarch the 500-year period does not end in 371 (*c.g.* 369) but in 427. In other words, there is no justification for lumping this passage together with those mentioned under A and B just because the numbers agree (any more than for Jacoby's method which does not distinguish between these testimonies and labels them all as 'Ephorisch') ¹.

We should also note that we are dealing here not with 500 years but with fourteen kings, in agreement with the information in the list of kings about the distance between Lycurgus' generation and Agis II. It is not permissible to alter this number to fifteen and then to assume that the reference is to five times three generations of $33\frac{1}{3}$ years, which would

¹ Cf. FGrHist, II C, p. 86 where ν' in Diod. VII, 12, 8 is called a 'clerical error'.

correspond so well with Ephorus' counting of generations.

In my view another solution is preferable, based on the fact that Plutarch does not mention the number fifteen. This permits us to ask whether he actually meant a multiple of *three* generations (that is of centuries). Let us assume for a moment that chronologists, knowing from experience that the actual duration of a reign was nearer to 25 than to 40 years, based their calculation on the former figure. This is not impossible if it is remembered that we are dealing, not with a revision of the list of kings, but with a time-reckoning independent of any counting of generations within the list and only serving to measure the distance between past events and the time of the writer. It should be noted that Plutarch speaks of a period spanning the reign of fourteen kings (not 'the' fourteen kings) from Lycurgus to Agis.

If it is assumed that the reference is to regnal periods of 25 years at an average, then 'fourteen kings' means $14 \times 25 = 350$ years. Agis took office in 427, just 350 years after the institution of the Olympic games with the cooperation of Lycurgus!

It may be objected that though Plutarch speaks of fourteen kings he also speaks of 500 years. Here, indeed, is an anomaly. Strangely, those who as a rule draw attention to Plutarch's poor chronological achievements now suddenly expect our author to offer a tenable connection between two different chronological data, 500 years and fourteen kings. I believe that neither he nor Diodorus did this. The latter, too, mentions both intervals of time, 500 and 400 years respectively, and here also it would be equally wrong to assume that the author made a consistent use of one system (*i.e.* the one attributed to Ephorus), and so alter the text accordingly¹.

¹ This is what Jacoby has done, assuming a clerical error in Diod. VII, 12, 8, of ν' for φ' (Cf. G. L. Barber, *op. cit.*, 1935, p. 172, note 1). One may doubt whether Diodorus is responsible for this inconsistency. It may already have occurred in Ephorus. Jacoby rightly remarks: 'an widersprüchen innerhalb verschiedener bücher hat es nicht gefehlt' (Comm. FGrHist, II C, p. 32).

I presume that Plutarch did not understand the conflict between the advocates of the chronological indications mentioned above under A and B. This quite agrees with the sceptical attitude of the present day towards his chronological views. But I do not think this the most important point. We should first of all realize that in Plutarch's choice between 500 and 400 his ethical appreciation of Lycurgus' work plays a part. Here the chronological pattern is no longer determined by adherence to the Aristotelian dating of his 'hero' (let alone whether Aristotle himself explicitly mentioned the 400 years) but by his great admiration for Sparta's law-giver. Extending the duration of his work meant enhancing Lycurgus' praise.

Plutarch did not let slip the opportunity to do so and he therefore linked the fourteen generations found in his (Aristotelian) source with the longest duration of Lycurgus' laws known to tradition. He did so without realizing that he connected two irreconcilable data. The fourteen kings counted from Lycurgus till Agis II, the 500 years from Lycurgus till Leuctra.

Ps.-Plutarch who is one of the sources of the Life of Lycurgus¹ set great store by these 500 years. He refers to them in *Mor.* 194 B and 239 F. He is, however, more independent of the Aristotelian chronological pattern. This is also demonstrated by the synchronism Alcamenes-Theopompus (239), whereas in *Lyc.* 6 Polydorus is co-ruler with Theopompus. The point of time here linked with the 500 years is different: the rule over Messenia had lasted 230 years. We observed that the reference is to 'seven generations' meant for $7 \times 40 = 280$ years, but erroneously interpreted as $7 \times 33\frac{1}{2}$ years². If here, too, we start from Leuctra, the second Messenian war is placed in 650 B.C. Possibly this conversion into 230 years is derived from Ephorus, who used the 33½-year generation³. This is quite plausible because the space of 500 years reckoned from Leuctra, 371, or shortly after, 369, as we find it in Dio-

¹ Ziegler, *op. cit.*, col. 229. ² Cf. p. 81 ff.

³ Cf. p. 116, p. 123 and p. 141 ff.

dorus, gives 869 for Lycurgus' laws; and this, but for a slight difference with Apollodorus (who has 885), seems to be Ephorus' date¹. Here Ps.-Plutarch did not realize that he followed a tradition which had originated in the anti-Aristotelian camp. But we should not be unduly surprised at this, as we do not know whether the 230 years as such appeared in Aristotle. I am inclined to believe that they did occur, but in a chronology starting from Agis II's accession in 427. This gives for the subjection of Messenia $427 + 230 = 657$. As we have here an approximation (the 230 years as we saw were the result of a genealogical calculation which is always approximate), the result agrees fairly well with the traditional date of the second Messenian war in the middle of the seventh century.

In this connection we do well to remember that Aristotle's version of the life of Lycurgus and that of Ephorus may have been similar in many respects. It is customary to attribute the data in *Plut. Lyc.* 29 and in *Nicol. Damasc.*² to Ephorus. If this were correct, then Plutarch here, too, would have departed from Aristotle. But this need not be the case. It is even more risky to conclude from the fact that Nicolaus does not give some particulars which are found in Plutarch, that Nicolaus strictly adheres to his source Ephorus of whom on this point nothing is known. Jacoby enumerates the points of resemblance between *Plut. Lyc.* 29 and Nicolaus³ and refers also to *Nicol. Damasc.*, fr. 56, par. 2: θύουσιν ὡς ἡρῷα δνὰ πᾶν ἔτος and the words of Plutarch's in *Lyc.* 31, 4. He believes that there is agreement between both sources of this story, Ephorus and Aristotle, who both represent Lycurgus as a hero receiving offerings. I admit that the versions of Ephorus and Aristotle may have corresponded in many respects, but on this very point there is, I believe, a distinct difference. In my opinion the quotation from Aristotle in *Lyc.* 31, 4 is as follows:

¹ Jacoby, FGrHist, II C, p. 86, 5; *Apollodorus Chronik*, p. 115, note 28.

² FGrHist, 70, 56.

³ FGrHist, II C, p. 247, 28 ff.

[δι' ὅπερ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης] ἐλάττονας σχεῖν [φησι] τιμᾶς ἢ προσῆκον ἦν αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, καίπερ ἔχοντα τὰς μεγίστας· ιερόν τε γάρ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ θύουσι καθ' ἔκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς θεῷ, whereas Jacoby attributes only the words ἐλάττονας σχεῖν τιμᾶς ἢ προσῆκον ἦν αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι to Aristotle. Meyer¹ was, I believe, more accurate on this point. Jacoby's arguments² are based on a wrong interpretation of Plutarch's words, and therefore of the words of Aristotle. Plutarch intends to point out that according to Aristotle the Spartan law-giver was better than could be supposed when considering the conduct of those who live under the blessings of his laws. These laws, so Plutarch says, aimed at a state of true philosophers. By his laws, therefore, Lycurgus excelled all other law-givers in Greece. So far, all seems to be the customary praise of Sparta, but the following parts show that the reference is not at all to a glorification of historical actuality. The glorification of Sparta is older than Aristotle³ and it is not likely to have had his unqualified approval. He may have said: 'How this propaganda exalts the law-giver! But it does not imply obedience to his beneficial rule'. Aristotle quite correctly pictured the paradoxical situation in words like these: 'Lycurgus in his own country is less honoured than he deserves' (this refers to the law-giver's lofty intentions conflicting with political practice). However, this is followed by: 'Nevertheless Lycurgus has been awarded the highest honour: he has a temple and is given annual sacrifices like a god' (a reference to the official appreciation of the law-giver in Sparta where his principles had long ceased to be lived up to). Sparta was neither the first nor the last state to pay lip service to law-givers while drifting away from their precepts.

These two sides of the cult of Lycurgus, official homage and factual apathy, were not understood by Jacoby when he wrote: 'denn wenn Lycurgus in Sparta als gott verehrt wurde

¹ *Forschungen*, I, p. 279, note 4.

² FGrHist, II C, p. 247, 36 ff.

³ See F. Ollier, *Le mirage spartiate*, spec. vol. I, 1934.

ist sein ausdruck ἐλαττόνας σχεῖν, φασι, τιμᾶς ἢ προσῆκον ἦν αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἐν Λακεδαιμονίῳ unverständlich¹. On the contrary, these words clearly reveal their meaning, corresponding with Aristotle's reserve with regard to Sparta shown in other places, if it is realized that Lycurgus lived, an invented god, amidst a rebellious people that sought him not.

If this is the right view, then *Lyc.* 31, 4 presents an Aristotelian passage widely different from Ephorus' view. To this extent we may follow Jacoby's opinion that Ephorus, declaring Lycurgus a figure created a heros after his death, agreed with Herodotus (I, 66) τῷ δὲ Λυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἵρὸν εἰσάμενοι σέβονται μεγάλως, although the latter did not speak of either god or heros. Ephorus, who elsewhere too followed the Herodotean tradition, could not be expected to express himself differently. But Aristotle, as we saw, had a more independent attitude toward tradition and he was a keen observer of actual facts. We certainly cannot look to Aristotle to support the modern scholars who regard Lycurgus as a deity who was credited with the giving of laws. After Toepffer's poignant verdict this theory of Wilamowitz and Meyer should no longer find supporters. On the other hand, Sparta's propaganda for its great law-giver should not be minimized. On the strength of *Lyc.* 31, 4 (that is, if the words I mentioned are actually Aristotle's) it seems evident that Lycurgus' deification had already become accepted before Aristotle. Pausanias' canvassing at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century B.C. is a case in point.

In my opinion Plutarch in *Lyc.* 31, 4 follows Aristotle, a tradition which on the strength of Nicol. Damasc. frag. 56 should not be regarded as a uniform Ephorus-Aristotle tradition.

Our discussion may be summarized as follows.

If *Lyc.* 29, 10 is combined with Ps.-Plutarch's chronological indications about the duration of the Spartan hegemony

¹ FGrHist, II C, p. 248, 3 ff.

and of Lycurgus' laws, the two authors appear to have used three indications:

α 230 years, a term to be read as the equivalent of seven generations. The seven generations have been applied in the chronologies in various manners.

α In the old genealogy of the Spartan list of kings seven generations are equal to $7 \times 40 = 280$ years. After Leuctra the period of the Spartan hegemony was indicated in this way. The hegemony then was taken to have started in 650.

β In Ephorus' chronology these seven generations span $7 \times 33\frac{1}{2}$ or 2×100 plus 30 = 230 years. After Leuctra the period of Spartan hegemony was indicated in the same way. The hegemony is supposed to have started in about 600. This dating, as I see it, can only have been the outcome of dating Lycurgus and the laws a century after the dating on the basis of the old genealogy. As a lowering of the period was necessary (for the reason mentioned before, *viz.* the compromise between the tenth and the eighth century) and as at the same time it was thought undesirable to abandon the genealogical chronology, a divergence from the traditional date for the second Messenian war which heralded Spartan hegemony became unavoidable. Those who like Beloch regard the dating according to this compromise as correct misunderstand the history of the chronological evolution in Greece.

γ In the 'radical' chronology genealogy as such had lost its meaning. But certain datings in the old Spartan chronology had their importance. Aristotle, a follower, even an advocate, of this new method, may have maintained the 280 years (*vide* α), but starting to count from Leuctra. He may himself have calculated the 230 years (*vide* β), but then starting to count from Agis II. Both roads led him to the middle of the seventh century. I believe it probable that he followed the latter method. In that case the evolution may be reconstructed as follows.

I believe γ to be prior to β . The starting point in 427 is just as drastic as the year 776 assumed on the strength of the

discus. Presumably, this revolutionary action led Aristotle, perhaps following others, to calculate the space between this date and various spectacular events in the past, and thus to arrive at the middle of the seventh century as a date for the second Messenian war. It may have been the outcome of his studies of the list of *Olympionikai*¹ and of his acquaintance with Tyrtaeus' poems. Ephorus' construction then fits in with the frame of the compromise: he adheres to the 230 years (explained differently, *viz.* on genealogical grounds) but he keeps starting from 371 (369) in the way mentioned under *a*.

Even if Ephorus' work should prove to have preceded Aristotle, this reconstruction remains tenable. It is quite possible, and even probable, that the method of starting from Agis II's accession originated from the time before the close of the fifth century, and that it should be linked with Hippias' work.

If the 230 years play a part in both rival systems (*γ* and *β*) it is only to be expected that they are to be found in Ps.-Plutarch.

b We find the 500 years in Plutarch. They conflict with the Aristotelian tradition which he generally followed. But Aristotle's influence is superseded by his desire to emphasize the importance of the laws, as expressed by his statement that Lycurgus' work held out for 500 years (instead of 400 years).

c the valuable factor, which I believe to have been borrowed from the Aristotelian tradition, is that Lycurgus' laws remained in force during the reign of fourteen kings. This indication once more reveals the struggle for the chronological pattern. The traditional counting by royal generations had proved in many cases to disagree with the historical period that could be surveyed. If my explanation is sound, the familiar forty years were discarded and even the entire old idea of 'generation' was abandoned for chronological purposes as being unsuitable because the possibilities of interpretation were too many. In the long run recourse was had to counting by regnal

¹ Cf. W. Jaeger, *Aristoteles*, 1923, p. 349 and *Pol.* 1338 *b* 40 ff.

periods of twenty-five years – an approximation fairly well agreeing with historical reality¹. For the dating of Lycurgus and other remarkable figures and events this change had disastrous results. Current methods were no longer satisfactory; in the various methods relative chronology showed considerable divergences. Finding a fixed point for an absolute chronology was the ideal of the great men of the day. Aristotle made a bold attempt to obtain a definite date independent of all genealogy.

So far I have followed the descriptive method. However it is legitimate to inquire what advantage there is for modern historiography in the attempt of Aristotle (to mention for the moment his name only). Shall we follow him as Plutarch did, although he made the right choice unconsciously rather than in the full realization of the problems involved?

The categorical statements by Ehrenberg: 'Man ist sich heute wohl darüber einig, dass der Diskos... für die Geschichtlichkeit und Datierung Lykurgs nichts beweisen kann', and by Wade-Gery: 'No one, I suppose, will support Aristotle's date for Lykourgos'² may lend a premature odium of being unscientific to those who do not reject Aristotle's dating. But these scholars, too, will have to admit that we know less than Aristotle did. Any attempt to assess the value of Aristotle's revolutionary method should not be based, as has been the case so far, on certain 'facts' from the history of the eighth and seventh centuries which are just as problematical as modern criticism of Aristotle. The only way to approach the history of this period with its scanty tradition is by following the struggle of the chronologists in antiquity and by attempting to discover their arguments. The Aristotelian system (and its basis as provided perhaps by Hippias) will then appear as a meaningful whole, built up logically and systematically and not conflicting with any facts, even the most recent

¹ Cf. A. R. Burn, JHS, LV, 1935, and LXIX, 1949.

² Respectively in *Neugründer des Staates*, 1925, p. 40 and CQ, XXXVIII, 1944, p. 115.

archaeological discoveries¹. The burden of proof that Aristotle was wrong in his dating of Lycurgus and his laws, of the Olympiads, and of the discus, rests entirely with those who question the authenticity of all this.

§ 7. ARISTOTLE – EPHORUS

The chronology of these two men presents no sure ground for the belief that Ephorus' work preceded that of Aristotle. I believe that when Aristotle was working on his chronology both datings of Lycurgus were already known founded on the basis of the genealogy of the list of kings reckoning by forty-year generations (in the tenth or eleventh century), and on that of the institution of the Olympic games. There is a familiar assertion that the dating of Lycurgus in 776 was the work of Aristotle based on the Olympic discus. No doubt the discus played a part in Aristotle's decision. But I believe I have demonstrated that the Olympic chronology, which, long before Aristotle's time, was operated by Hippias and others, had already linked Sparta's law-giver with the Olympic games. The Aristotelian theory linking the Spartan law-giver with the Olympic truce was merely a final step in this process².

Although it has no bearing on the above reconstruction of the struggle for the chronological pattern, it is worth while to enquire whether we can reconstruct the chronological relationship between Ephorus and Aristotle³.

¹ See for a succinct account of the data A. G. Roos, *Lycurgus*, (address), Groningen, 1932, p. 15. Cf. Part II, p. 154, note 1.

² Cf. p. 32.

³ On the dating of Aristotle's chronological work cf. W. Jaeger, *Aristoteles*, 1923, p. 348/9. He links this date with the work on the list of the Pythionikai done jointly with Callisthenes. On the evidence of the inscription (see p. 94) he dates this work in approx. 335. Jacoby in *Apollodorus Chronik* p. 114 ff. maintains Ephorus' priority; also FGrHist, II C, p. 22, 24–25. Barber, *op. cit.*, follows Jacoby. A later dating for Ephorus is given by Niese, *Hermes*, XLIV,

With regard to their material interdependence we do well to recall Wilamowitz' words: 'Mit einer gewissen gruppe unserer historiker den forscher in Ephoros zu sehen, in Aristoteles den ausschreiber, halte ich allerdings nach wie vor für noch weniger denkbar als das umgekehrte verhältnis'¹. All the same, Wilamowitz puts Aristotle after Ephorus on the ground that possibly Aristotle borrowed for one of his *Politai* a historical illustration from Ephorus' voluminous book, although there is no evidence for this. The very absence of evidence makes it doubtful whether Ephorus preceded Aristotle².

Though with regard to the dating of Ephorus the ground has been pretty well covered³, it may serve our purpose if I call the attention to a few points in this discussion.

1. FGrHist, 70, fr. 223 and 217
2. FGrHist, 70, T. 9 and 10
3. FGrHist, 70, fr. 121, 119 and 194.

1. The fragments relating to Alexander the Great

Fr. 223 is a chronological reference. According to Ephorus the period from the return of the Heraclids till the campaign of Alexander the Great lasted 735 years⁴. All scholars who

1909, p. 170 ff., opposed by Schwartz in the same periodical, p. 481 ff., but supported with fresh arguments by Mühl in *Klio*, XXIX, 1936, p. 111/3. Compare Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* Ephorus.

Cf. D. W. Prakken, *A note on the Megarian historian Dieuchidas*, AJP, LXII, 1941, p. 348/51, and *Studies in Greek genealogical chronology*, 1943, p. 73 ff.

¹ *Aristoteles und Athen*, I, p. 306.

² Jacoby therefore is not cautious enough when he only refers to 'die vermutete starke abhängigkeit des Aristoteles von E' (FGrHist, II C, p. 25, line 14) and follows this up with: 'die benutzung setzt möglicherweise schon mit Aristoteles ein'.

³ In the articles by Niese, *Hermes*, XXXVI, 1901, by Laqueur, *Hermes*, XLVI, 1911, and in Jacoby's commentary, FGrHist, II C, p. 22 ff.

⁴ It is tempting to assume that Ephorus counted with generations of 35 years, but I do not think this acceptable although 700 plus

make Ephorus precede Alexander maintain that we are dealing here with a genealogical calculation derived from, not by, Ephorus¹. If this is true, then there is no fragment indicating whether the work was continued till Alexander's time. But the wording of fragment 217 is more distinct and I would prefer to link fragment 223 with a chronological calculation by Ephorus himself.

Fragment 217 consists of the following quotation from Tertullian, *De anim.* 46,5: 'Philippus Macedo, nondum pater, Olympiadis uxoris naturam obsignasse viderat anulo: leo erat signum; crediderat praeclusam genituram, opinor, quia leo semel pater est. Aristodemus vel Aristophon conjectans immo nihil vacuum obsignari, filium, et quidem maximi impetus portendi. Alexandrum qui sciunt, leonem anuli recognoscunt. Ephorus scribit'. These strange stories about Alexander's birth originated in the years following his visit to the Ammon oracle, i.e. after 330². Opinions may differ as to the book in which Ephorus dealt with Alexander's descent, whether in book XXVII, relating the history of the year of Alexander's birth, or in the notes for the sequel of his work, which was interrupted at the year 341. The question is irrelevant as far as our object is concerned, because it is an established fact that either this note or book XXVII was written after 330, which implies that Ephorus was still alive then. This being the case, 35 happens to be a multiple of 35. The basis should rather be 7×100 (or 7 times three generations) with the addition of one generation put approximately at 35 years (or 30 as the case may be) as fractional numbers were unknown. The dependable chronographer in Diodorus speaks of 750 years, another reason for not overrating the genealogical value of the number 735 in Clement. Neither, however, should we depend too much on the number 750 as it may represent 25 generations of 30 years. As Ephorus probably was surprised by death while engaged upon his work it is not likely that his work was interrupted at the very moment that a new generation in his chronology began.

¹ Jacoby, FGrHist, II C, p. 24, line 5 ff.

² Cf. the brilliant exposition by W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, II, p. 354.

there is no reason why the chronological calculation in fragment 223 should be attributed to somebody else.

2. *The chronographer in Diodorus (T 9 and 10)*

We know Ephorus' historical work to have contained thirty books and also that the thirtieth book was written by his son Demophilus (T 9) and dealt with the eleven years of the Sacred War (357–346). This testimony seems to conflict with the statement – likewise from Diodorus – that Ephorus' work closed with the siege of Perinthus, *i.e.* in 341/0. The latter reference seems to warrant the conclusion that Ephorus did not finish his work, as there is no plausible explanation for finishing a historical work in the year 341/0¹.

It seems rather strange that Demophilus in the thirtieth book should have covered a period of 17 years. Books on contemporary history generally cover a shorter period. Besides, the chronological source in Diodorus states explicitly that Demophilus only described the Sacred War. If that is true, where do we find the history from 346/5–341/0?

As I see it, there are two possibilities. The first is that Ephorus in his later books dealt with his subject according to a geographical division. Starting from the remaining fragments the following division is plausible. Book XXVII covered the rise of Macedonia under Philip, books XXVIII and XXIX dealt with the history of Sicily. To book XXVII belongs the history up to Perinthus. This did not mean the com-

¹ Jacoby rightly rejects Walker's suggestion that in that year the 25th generation came to an end, preventing Ephorus from going any further (see FGrHist, II C, p. 29, p. 43 ff.).

Cf. Lehmann Haupt in *Einl. in die Altert. Wiss.*, III, 2, 1912, p. 92, for a different calculation by generations: the 19th generation (2×35 years before 334) is the end of the Peloponnesian war. Ephorus himself lived in the 20th generation. His calculations started from 369. – All this is mere speculation. There is no evidence at all that 334 played a part in his work as the end of a generation even though the crossing to Persia was, as seems probable, an indication due to Ephorus personally.

pletion of Ephorus' work, but his death precluded its continuation. Such is Laqueur's view, which has Jacoby's support.

The argument leaves the uncomfortable feeling that it constructs a separate story of the Sacred War (to which the thirtieth book was devoted) very much *pour le besoin de la cause*. There is more. That the rise of Macedonia was limited to the subject of one book is a conjecture liable to the same sort of objections as the assumption that the thirtieth book covered a period of 17 years. Jacoby realized this and therefore suggested that book XXVII only was a rough outline found among Ephorus' effects and that it was finished by Demophilus. But on this point the testimony is silent. Yet this suggestion opens the way to another explanation with regard to the history from 346 to 340. I am inclined to fall in with Jacoby's conjecture and to assume that Ephorus' papers contained three kinds of writings. First of all the books ready for publication, then the material for book XXX, complete but for the finishing touches, eventually undertaken by Demophilus. Lastly, there was some loose material, the ingredients for a sequel relative to the history of the succeeding six years of which the siege of Perinthus was the last recorded event. With a man like Ephorus, a reputedly slow worker, it is only to be expected that a heap of material had a retarding influence (cf. T 28). In this light the testimonies 9 and 10 are quite well reconcilable: 29 books by Ephorus; one by Demophilus; loose material still showing so much coherence up to 341/0, that it was possible to see this year as the end of Ephorus' work, whilst the final volume available as a separate work was written by his son. The words in T 10 (= Diod. XVI, 76, 5): *τῶν δὲ συγγραφέων Ἐφόρος μὲν ὁ Κυμαῖος τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐνθάδε κατέστροψεν εἰς τὴν Περίνθου πολιορκίαν* are therefore to be taken literally¹.

¹ Contrary to Schwartz, who remarks: "Da jener (d.h. der Chronograph) über den Schluss des Gesamtwerkes berichten will, nennt er nach der üblichen und hier allein passenden Weise den Verfasser Ephorus". *Hermes*, XLIV, 1909, p. 483.

The historian's material grows into a whole, into a 'book', by various stages. If the material has been arranged and the author's conclusions are ready to be inserted in their proper places, an executor may undertake to publish the work. Such was the case with the XXXth book. An earlier stage is when the material is available but the deceased author has not fashioned it. The material would then be better left as it is. If posterity is to profit from the material collected, the executor may publish it and so put it at the disposal of historical science. This is what Demophilus did, but still his father's work with its strong rhetorical trend was a book in thirty 'books', no more.

It may be asked whether a slow worker and collector of material like Ephorus would have compiled his data for more than six years in advance. Preparations covering a longer period would have been the obvious thing. For that matter, Ephorus is not likely to have prepared only for a six year period, for the thirtieth book was not ready. It started from 357/6 and consequently the material not yet definitely arranged covered seventeen instead of six years. But even if we take a seventeen-year period, the question remains whether the loose unclassified material was completely lacking among his effects.

This brings us to the first stage through which the historian has to pass before he may consider his work as a finished product. The stage of the material for the XXXth book and of the material for the years 346 to 340 was preceded by the stage in which only stray notes were available. These notes related to the time after 340. Between 340 and 330 Alexander is obviously the leading figure. Two of Ephorus' notes (fr. 217 and 223) have been preserved. (In that case fragment 217 does not necessarily belong to the XXVIIth book, neither does the chronological reference in fragment 223 need to be regarded as a calculation after Ephorus).

It may be objected that my comparison between Ephorus' method and that of a modern historian is rather overdone.

My reply is that already his contemporaries looked upon him as a very slow worker. If we look for an explanation (our factual knowledge unfortunately being but scant), it seems reasonable to presume that his way of arranging the material was meticulous to the point of being laborious.

When we review the material in the light of this suggestion we find that

firstly, the work covered thirty books the last of which (357/6 to 346/5) was written by Ephorus' son Demophilus;

secondly, the period covered by Ephorus extended to 341/0;

thirdly, the mention of two facts is attributed to Ephorus, facts which could not have been recorded till 334 and 330.

This supports the contention that the material was in varying stages of completion, and a comparison of fragment 223 with T 10 brings the final proof.

Both fragments mention the period covered by Ephorus' work and have the Return of the Heraclids as their starting point. The chronographer in Diodorus¹ speaks of 'approximately' 750 years, and the chronological reference in Clement of Alexandria² mentions 735 years. Unlike many modern scholars I am inclined to take the difference of 'approximately' 15 years seriously. The thirtieth book finished in 346. In 331 the problem of Alexander's descent became urgent, by reason of his divine kingship of Egypt. A reflection of these stories about the descent is to be found in fragment 217. The material not published by Demophilus covered the period from 346 to 331 *i.e.* 'approximately' fifteen years. I can hardly believe this to be a mere coincidence and I find it harder still to apply an alteration in the text, *e.g.* by reading *τριάκοντα* for Diodorus' *πεντήκοντα*³.

The difference of fifteen years results from the fact that one chronographer (in Clement) keeps to the books published,

¹ FGrHist, 70, T 10.

² FGrHist, 70, fr. 223.

³ Jacoby, *ad* T 10.

whereas the other (in Diodorus) includes Ephorus' notes for future publication. The latter, however, did not distinguish between the two varieties of Ephorus' material, at least he does not mention a distinction. When he declares Ephorus' work to extend to the siege of Perinthus (341/0), he only takes into account the material available, though unclassified, for the period from 346 to 340. His subsequent statement that Ephorus in his work covered a period of 'approximately' 750 years, includes the loose notes relative to the following ten years.

3. Publication by Instalments?

I agree with the following opinion of Lehmann Haupt: 'Dass Werk muss also nach Ephoros' Tode herausgegeben worden sein, wenn man nicht (E. Meyer) eine vorgängige Publikation einzelner Teile annehmen will, wofür jedoch keinerlei Anhaltspunkte vorhanden sind'. Meyer however has had many followers like Jacoby¹ and Barber². The principal fragments on which this conjecture is based are 121, 119 and 194. We shall discuss them briefly.

Fragment 121 calls Naupactus Locrian. After 338 however it had become Aetolian through Philip. The conclusion is drawn that the fragment is part of the work (books I to III) published before 338³. Another explanation is equally possible. The slow-moving Ephorus may have completed this part before 338, but that does not imply its having been published before that date. With a cautiously working man like Ephorus a certain apprehension for publishing may very well have been coupled with a slow tempo in working. Moreover, the fragment in question only deals with the original

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 92.

² For example Barber, *op. cit.*, p. 14: 'on the whole Jacoby's assumption of a production in groups of connected books is the safest and the most probable'.

³ FGrHist, II C, p. 24, line 17, followed by Barber, *op. cit.*, p. 12, only the latter assuming that it had been *written* before 338.

population of Naupactus and is silent about the occupier at the time of writing. The reference to fragment 121 seems equally unfounded. Jacoby may be right in alleging that it was written 'stark unter den eindruck der vorübergehenden thebanischen hegemonie'¹, although this should not be exaggerated. But this strong impression does not imply publication at the moment when the impression was fresh.

Fragment 194 has been the subject of a controversy between Niese and Schwartz². The question here is whether Heraclides Ponticus knew Ephorus' work. If such was the case, the publication of Ephorus' XIth book must have taken place prior to 330, so the argument goes (but all this is far from certain, as the time of Heraclides cannot be fixed so accurately that 330 or even later becomes impossible). But in respect of the dating of Ephorus the question is irrelevant if, with Jacoby, we ask if Heraclides in the fragment in question (Plut. *Pericl.* 27) actually opposes Ephorus — because this is far from certain³. Even if the fragment is given a far-reaching application, the time-reference remains very vague; and, what is more, it does not mention the time of publication but only the time when the eleventh book was written. I believe therefore that we are justified in adopting Lehmann Haupt's conclusion.

Traces of the work of Theopompus and Callisthenes appearing in Ephorus' work can only serve as an indication of the 'Abfassungszeit' of the book in question, not of its publication. It is a fair presumption that the slow-moving Ephorus frequently was overtaken by his contemporaries⁴, also that he noted their results and used them. Nor does the new dating of Dieuchidas of Megara, whose work, in Prakken's opinion⁵, depended on that of Ephorus, conflict with the

¹ FGrHist, II C, p. 68, line 36 f.

² Hermes, XLIV, 1909 (resp. p. 177 and p. 481).

³ FGrHist, II C, p. 92, line 25.

⁴ Cf. FGrHist, II C, p. 24, line 35 ff.

⁵ AJP, LXII, 1941, p. 248/51.

view that Ephorus' work was published as a whole after 330.

What does all this reveal about Aristotle's relation to Ephorus? If it is true that the work was published as a whole after Ephorus' death in the closing years of Alexander's life (or even after the latter's death), it becomes very unlikely that Aristotle knew Ephorus' work. For Aristotle the only time-reference for his chronological work is the laudatory inscription in connection with his work on the list of *Pythionikai*, i.e. ca 335. This implies that in a period of intensive chronological study Ephorus' work had not been published. Beyond this we cannot go. But this single indication of the period in which Aristotle was engaged in chronological studies, makes it highly improbable that he devised a chronological system intended to oppose Ephorus' genealogical chronology.

In the discussion on the dating of Ephorus M. Mühl¹ offered an argument which I believe to be unsound. He starts from Diodorus XIII, 20/27, a speech by the Syracusan Nicolaus in which he counsels leniency towards the Athenians. The address has frequent references to Tyche's capriciousness (21, 5; 23, 2; 23, 3; 23, 4; 24, 6; 27, 5; 27, 6). Mühl's impressions are summarized as follows: 'Die Tyche erscheint hier nicht mehr – wie früher – als eine mechanisch schaffende Macht, sondern als eine bewusst tätige, lebendig wirkende, dynamische Gewalt, sie hat menschliche Züge angenommen, zeigt Freude (ἡδομένη) am plötzlichen Glückswechsel, lenkt die Geschicke von Menschen und Völkern in der Absicht ihre Macht den Menschen offensichtlich kundzugeben (ἐπιδείξασθαι βουλομένης)'. Now a comparison with the famous passage on Tyche by Demetrius of Phaleron (Polybius XXIX, 21) shows that on this point there is an analogy between Ephorus and Demetrius. The analogy between Diodorus XIII, 27, 6: καθαπέρει τῆς τύχης ἐν τῷ τούτου βίῳ τὴν ἔσυτῆς δύναμιν ἐπιδείξασθαι βουλομένης, and Polybius XXIX, 21: τὴν αὐτῆς δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς παραδόξοις ἐνδεικνυμένη, is indeed striking. Mühl¹ now believes to be

¹ *Zur Entstehung der Historien des Ephorus*, *Klio*, XXIX, 1936, p. 111/3.

entitled to draw the far-reaching conclusion that Ephorus borrowed his conception from Demetrius' *Περὶ Τύχης*. If this were true then Ephorus should be dated at the close of the fourth century, which confirms the dating by Niese.

An examination of the references to Tyche in Thucydides, however, shows that already in the fifth century the personified intervening power of that name played a part in historical literature (3, 45, 5; 5, 112, 2; 7, 68, 1). Also in Thucydides, her actions are unexpected and contrary to human reckoning, *παρὰ λόγον* (1, 140, 1) and *ἀδοκήτως* (3, 45, 5).

On the strength of these passages in Thucydides and their influence it seems preferable to regard the figure of Tyche in history as a universal 'topos' from the fourth century. Ephorus did not borrow his statement about her powers necessarily from Demetrius.

PART TWO
THE SPARTAN GERONTARCHY



CHAPTER I

THE SPARTAN RHETRA (Plut. *Lyc.* VI)

The present subject is one of the cruces in any discussion on the oldest history of Sparta. For a long time Ed. Meyer's view was generally accepted: the text of the rhetra is a later falsification, by which Plutarch or his source was deceived¹. Opposition to this view came both from German and from British quarters², but the opinion is still entertained that the text of the rhetra and Plutarch's commentary conflict on certain points. The following is an attempt to rehabilitate Plutarch also on this score.

This attempt I propose to undertake in two stages, firstly by demonstrating that Plutarch's exposition is a historical commentary which is consistent in itself and not self-contradictory, secondly by showing that on the whole the historical development may well have followed the line which Plutarch describes.

¹ Meyer, in *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, I, and the literature given by Sieveking, in the Teubner edition of the *Moralia*, II, p. 165 ff. Kessler, in *Plutarch's Leben des Lykurgos*, disposes of this highly important chapter in only two pages which refer to Meyer's criticism. This view has found supporters till the present day, so Th. Meier, *Das Wesen der spartanischen Staatsordnung*, *Klio*, N.F., XXIX, Beiheft 42, 1939.

² Ehrenberg, *Der Damos im archaischen Sparta*, *Hermes*, LXVIII, 1933, p. 288–305. Treu, *Der Schlussatz der grossen Rhetra*, *Hermes*, LXXVI, 1941, p. 22–42. Wade-Gery, *The Spartan Rhetra in Plutarch Lycurgus VI*, *CQ*, XXXVII, 1943, p. 62–72; XXXVIII, 1944, p. 1–9, 115–126. von Blumenthal, *Zur lykurgischen Rhetra*, *Hermes*, LXXVII 1942, p. 212–215. Miss Chrimes, *op. cit.*, p. 475 ff. Hammond, *The Lycurgean reform at Sparta*, *JHS*, LXX, 1950, p. 42–64. – In some details I follow Hammond's translation of the rhetra. – H. Bengtson, *Griechische Geschichte*, 1950, p. 93 ff.

A provisional translation of *Lyc.* VI should precede our discussion. For the sake of clarity I should point out that the subject is discussed in a passage (V to VII) dealing with the gerousia, the council of elders; furthermore that Plutarch, following Aristotle (*vide* I), dates Lycurgus in the first quarter of the VIIIth century B.C.¹; and finally that, when we combine Plutarch and Tyrtaeus with the list of Olympic victors, the reign of the kings Polydorus and Theopompus and the first Messenian war come two generations after Lycurgus, and that again two generations later the poet Tyrtaeus (cf. VI, 9-10) writes about the measures taken by these kings with regard to the Spartan rhetra.

Translation of Plut. Lyc. VI

1. Lycurgus so exerted himself on behalf of this system of government that he went to Delphi to obtain an oracle about it which they call a rhetra.

2. Its contents are as follows:

'After having built a sanctuary for Zeus Syllanius and Athena Syllania, after having formed tribes and arranged obes, after having set up a (new) membership of thirty for the gerousia including the kings, from season to season assemble between Babyka and Knakion; under these conditions introduce (measures) and go away. The people must have the right to contradict and have power'².

3. In these rules 'forming tribes' and 'arranging obes' means to divide and separate the people into parts, one of

¹ I fail to see why modern historians generally look with suspicion on Plutarch and Aristotle. Of Roos' conclusion in *Lycurgus* (an address) 1932, p. 14-15, that the discus is a document which removes all doubt of Lycurgus' historicity and that it even defines his time with certainty, I fully endorse the former and I regard the latter as very probable.

² In this sentence I read: δέμων διταγορίαν ἔμεν καὶ κράτος.

which he called *phylai* and the other *obai*. *Archagetai* is a denomination for kings, *apellazein* is to assemble, an allusion to the Pythian god, who was the beginning and the cause of the constitution.

4. The Babyka . . . , and the Knakion is now called Oinous. But Aristotle says that Knakion is a river and Babyka a bridge. Between these two they held their public meetings [without halls or any other kind of public building. For he regarded these things as not conducive to good counsel but rather harmful, because they rendered the serious purposes of the assembly insignificant and futile by vain thoughts, as during the meeting they gazed upon statues and paintings, or scenic embellishments, or excessively decorated roofs of council-houses].

6. When the people were assembled, nobody else was permitted to submit a proposal, but the people were entitled to test (to decide, *i.e.* to accept or to reject) proposals laid before them by the gerousia and the kings.

7. When later however the crowd attempted to distort and to strain the proposals by subtractions and additions, the kings Polydorus and Theopompus added this clause to the rhetra:

8. 'If the people pronounce against the proposal, the elders and kings must adjourn the meeting (lit.: be the withdrawers)', *i.e.* declare it invalid, leave their seats and eliminate the people, on the ground that it was perverting the proposal against the public interest.

9. And they actually succeeded in persuading the city that the god had added it, as Tyrtaeus reports in the following verses:

10. 'What they had heard from Phoebus they brought with them from Pytho, oracles of the god and words that came

Treu and Wade-Gery in their respective studies (cf. p. 153, note 2) have independently defended this reading. Treu met with Berle's approval in *Gnomon*, XVII, 1941, p. 1 ff. For other recent suggestions cf. Hammond, *art. cit.*, p. 44 and Chrimes, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

true: In the decisions the kings, honoured by the gods, to whom lovely Sparta is entrusted, possess domination, also the elders; but next come the men of the people who respond (to the proposals) with *rhetrai* which are right'.

Chapter V, 1-9 deals with the early history of the laws. It has been asserted that this passage contains a contradiction¹ which, if true, would not be to the credit of Plutarch as a historian. V, 1-5 mentions how the entire population wanted Lycurgus as a law-giver, how he went to Delphi to receive the laws from the god; all this proceeds in orderly fashion. But V, 6-9 relates a violent action of Lycurgus and his friends and king Charilaus' anxiety. On the strength of this contrast the tradition has been reconstructed as follows. First of all, the oracle has the leading part (Herodotus), then the story is secularized till Polybius makes Lycurgus out to be an enlightened despot going to Delphi only for the sake of the people, as it were by a pious fraud (X, 2, 10). Plutarch, himself a priest of Delphi, then returns to the oldest version. Evidently Hermippus, mentioned in V, 7, had done this before, but Plutarch associates it with the tradition of force of arms known already to Aristotle (V, 12).

I do not believe this reconstruction to be supported by the facts recorded by Plutarch. The opening part of the chapter reveals already that Lycurgus was recalled on account of disturbances at home, in other words there actually were factions. The people wanted him for their leader because in the past, as guardian over the young king, he had turned out to be a good ruler superior to their kings. The kings hoped through his influence to strengthen their position against the masses (V, 2). Lycurgus arrives and finds conditions so bad as to call for drastic measures. For this heavy task he looks for support, divine and human, from Apollo and from his friends. In the face of the various factions he wishes to be

¹ Kessler, *op. cit.*, p. 24-28.

ready for any emergency and so makes his preparations ἐκπλήξεως ἔνεκα καὶ φόβου πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιπράττοντας (V, 6), where ἀντιπράττοντας is to be taken as 'de conatu'. As the sequel shows there is only ταραχή, but no armed intervention at all.

The fact that according to Aristotle two of his collaborators lost courage does not imply an armed intervention. It is quite possible that they shrank from the dangerous consequences of a possible failure of Lycurgus or from the risks connected with such a vast undertaking. Demetrius of Phaleron's statement ἐν εἰρήνῃ καταστήσασθαι τὴν πολιτείαν (*Lyc.* XXIII, 2) may therefore not be used against Aristotle (*Lyc.* V, 12). This passage from Demetrius quoted and approved by Plutarch supports the view that ἀντιπράττοντας should be taken 'de conatu'.

§ 1. THE INTRODUCTION AND THE MEANING OF RHETRA

Plutarch makes it appear that the entire rhetra is connected with the council of elders (*ταῦτην τὴν ἀρχήν*), although there is also mention of tribes and obes – whatever they may be – of having an assembly of the people, and of the people's powers. We might call this an error in composition: he brings in the text of the rhetra at the wrong moment, and so he is compelled to drag all sorts of other topics into the discussion of his main subject, the gerousia. This, however, seems too drastic an explanation. In the beginning of VII it says that the ὀλιγαρχία, *i.e.* the gerousia, became ἀκρατος and ἵσχυρά, 'unmixed and powerful', and that this led to the institution of the ephorate. Plutarch regards this rhetra as an attempt to allow the kings and the people a proper place in the government beside the gerousia whose institution and degeneration are dealt with successively in V and VII. Whether this view finds historical corroboration is a matter for future enquiry, but we may take it for granted that in discussing this rhetra his particular subject was the gerousia.

The word 'rhetra'¹ and Plutarch's definition of it suggest that it is an old passage. A Delphic *manteia* is called *rhetra*, so Plutarch. That should have been sufficient for scholars, but many of them do not believe the author and say on the one hand that what Plutarch offers is an oracle wrongly regarded as a *rhetra* (*i.e.* law), on the other hand that it is a *rhetra* (*i.e.* law) wrongly proclaimed to be an oracle. In both cases $\rho\eta\tau\rho\alpha$ is given the technical and legal meaning of a law passed by the people's representatives. Plutarch indeed has many examples of this. The word then means not only a law but also a bill and the sanctioning of the bill. One of these technical meanings may be found in VI, 10, in the quotation from Tyrtaeus.

But do these definitions exclude the meaning of 'oracle'? I do not think so. This meaning dates from the time when the community had close ties with religion, the period of undifferentiated religious, military and political direction. 'Rhetra' may be compared with the Hebrew 'dabar' or 'word'; it combines divine sanction or inspiration with the human work of making laws. In Greek legislative work the law-givers are always somehow associated with the divinity. It does not eliminate the human element, but this has become an instrument. The gods inspire, 'encourage', the law-giver, as they did in the case of Lycurgus who went to Delphi and returned $\epsilon\pi\alpha\varphi\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (V). Rationalistic commentators regard the divine element in legislation as an external feature: for gaining power religion is essential. This idea seems too over-simplified. If we imagine the appointment of a law-giver in a primitive

¹ Far from out of date is Toepffer, *Beitr. zur griechischen Altertumswissenschaft*, (1897), p. 349 ff. Cf. also Kessler, *op. cit.*, p. 33, note 3. Kahrstedt, *Griechisches Staatsrecht*, I, p. 265. Ehrenberg, *Neugründer des Staates*, p. 18. C. M. Bowra, *Early Greek elegists*, p. 45–46. Wade-Gery, *CQ*, XXXVII, 1943, p. 65, note 2; *ibid.*, XXXVIII, 1944, p. 115. Jacoby, *Attis*, p. 30; 264, note 168; 266, note 174. Michell, *op. cit.*, p. 9, note 3. On the original religious meaning of $\rho\eta\tau\rho\alpha$ see H. Fournier, *Les verbes 'dire' en grec ancien*, Paris 1946, p. 5 and p. 225 f.

community, it seems unlikely that a man would ever have been given this task unless he had been looked upon as the true voice of the community. A law-giver who does not share the religious feelings of his people is not so commissioned. If he is supposed to go to Delphi or some other oracle under false pretences he is placed outside the community he aims to serve. The whole Oresteia as a religious drama is unthinkable without the concept that the gods are vitally concerned with alterations in the laws.

This ancient idea should guide us in the interpretation of the words *μαντεία ἦν ρήτραν καλοῦσιν* and of XIII, 11 ff., referring to the minor rhetra: *Τὰ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα νομοθετήματα ρήτρας ἀνόμασεν, ὡς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ νομιζόμενα* (I prefer: *κομιζόμενα*). There is no reason for the astonishment of some scholars that *rhetra* should mean oracle. In a community in which law has not yet been secularized the word means divine direction and also human law.

A proof of this close relation between oracle and law may perhaps be found in the enigmatic expression *χρηστούς ποιεῖν*. Even in Aristotle's time these words needed an explanation, as is evidenced by the following passage from a treaty between Sparta and Tegea (fr. 592 R):

Τίνες οἱ παρὰ Ἀρχέσι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις χρηστοί; Λακεδαιμόνιοι Τεγεάταις διαλλαγέντες ἐποιήσαντο συνθήκας καὶ στήλην ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ κοινὴν ἀνέστησαν, ἐν ᾧ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γέγραπται Μεσσηνίους ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ μὴ ἔξειναι χρηστούς ποιεῖν. Ἐξηγούμενος οὖν δὲ Ἀριστοτέλης τοῦτο φησι δύνασθαι τὸ μὴ ἀποκτινθῆναι βοηθείας χάριν τοῖς λακωνίζουσι τῶν Τεγεατῶν.

It is worth while to enumerate the most important interpretations, given by Aristotle and by modern scholars.

According to Aristotle the words *χρηστούς ποιεῖν* are a euphemism for 'to kill'. The dead are called *οἱ χρηστοί*, i.e. 'good people'.

Latte¹ attempted an interpretation which has won great

¹ *Heiliges Recht*, p. 114.

favour (it is sanctioned in the addenda to Liddell-Scott-Jones, p. 2110): *χρηστός* is an *adjectivum verbale*, meaning he who may be used, whom everybody may deal with as he sees fit, 'outlawed' or *ἄτιμος*.

Jacoby¹ rightly pointed out that the treaty is directed against the Messenians, Sparta's arch-enemies. The Spartans are not likely to have protected their hated enemies by a clause forbidding the Tegeans to kill them or treat them as outlaws. Jacoby gives *χρηστός* the meaning of 'employable' in the political sense, and he translates *χρηστούς ποιεῖν* as 'to make somebody a citizen'. The second clause, then, prohibits the citizens of Tegea to grant civil rights to the Messenians there, which might strengthen the anti-Spartan party.

Jacoby did not fail to observe that his interpretation of *χρηστούς ποιεῖν* results in the general positive clause Μεσσηνίους ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας being succeeded by a redundant negative clause, for exile already implies the impossibility of obtaining civil rights. He says: 'It is useless to speculate whether Sparta thought that the observance of the negative clause would admit of an easier and more complete control than that of the positive one'. In my opinion, however, the fact that the second clause becomes needless, forms a serious objection to Jacoby's interpretation.

My interpretation is as follows. The expression *χρηστούς ποιεῖν* reveals the ancient connection between law and oracle. *Χρηστός* is an *adjectivum verbale* of *χράω*: he about whom an oracle may be sought. (We know *χρηστός* as *adjectivum verbale* of *χράω* in *πυθόχρηστος*). The Tegeans must banish the Messenians and they are to prevent any law ever being adopted which might contain different provisions for the Messenians. Such a law cannot be made unless the oracle has been consulted. So the second clause aims at preventing the Tegeans from making a new law (*i.e.* asking a new oracle) regarding the

¹ CQ, XXXVIII, 1944, p. 15 f.

banishment of the Messenians. The banishment as laid down in the treaty shall have permanent force.

The above interpretation finds support in one of the oldest Cretan inscriptions (Dreros) published by P. Demargne and H. van Effenterre¹. He who for the second time holds the office of *χόσμος* is called there *ἄχρηστος*. Ehrenberg² interpreted this word as 'unemployable', useless at least in a political sense, a citizen of minor rights. The punishment meted out to the citizen who unlawfully seizes power (which is the meaning of being *χόσμος for a second time*) is in my opinion more severe than Ehrenberg and Jacoby would have us believe. *Καὶ τὸν αχρηστὸν ημεν, ας δοι* means 'and he shall himself not be the object of consultation of the oracle as long as he lives'. This implies that if a usurper is overthrown and the citizens find an opportunity, he is sentenced irrevocably. The clause holds out the warning of a penalty as severe as the clause relating to the Messenians in the treaty between Sparta and Tegea³.

In archaic times there is a tendency to regard written laws as unalterable. This even applies to proposals. The history of the extension of the *rhetra* shows the dislocating effect of altering the proposals: *ὑστερον μέντοι τῶν πολλῶν ἀφαιρέσεις καὶ προσθέσεις τὰς γνώμας διαστρεφόντων καὶ παραβιαζομένων* (VI, 7). Laws were of divine origin and to alter them is the equivalent of abolishing them⁴.

¹ BCH, LXI, 1937, p. 333 f.

² *An early source of Polis-Constitution*, CQ, XXXVII, 1943, p. 14 ff.

³ The dating of this treaty is of secondary importance for our purpose, but, although I do not wish to enter into this matter, I cannot help indicating that the arguments in favour of a VIth century date (L. I. Higby, *The Erythrae decrees*, Kllo, Beih. XXXVI, 1936, p. 72; Chr. Callmer, *Studien zur Geschichte Arkadiens*, p. 76), seem stronger than those for the Vth century. Moreover, Aristotle is more likely to have felt the necessity to explain *χρηστός ποιεῖν*, if the expression was used in the VIth century.

⁴ W. C. van Unnik, *De la règle Μήτε προσθεῖναι μήτε ἀφεῖναι dans l'histoire du canon*, Vig. Chr., III, 1949, p. 1-36, spec. p. 28.

§ 2. THE TEXT OF THE RHETRA

The opening part already shows clearly that we are dealing with a religious and legislative act. A temple is to be erected for Zeus and Athena. Nothing certain is known about the name *Syllanius*¹. That *Σκυλλάνις* should mean πολεμική is a conjecture, presumably based on this passage. The old interpretation adopted by Miss Chrimes² that *Sullanios* stands for *Hellanios* is unacceptable on linguistic grounds³. With all proper reserve I submit that *Sullanios* stands for *Kullanios* which seems a more satisfactory solution. Homer calls Hermes Κυλλήνιος (*Od.* XXIV, 1) and Herodotus associates him with the Pelasgians (II, 51). The name Κυλλήνιος is perhaps connected with this 'Pelasgian' origin: Hermes was said to have been born in the mountains which form the boundary of Achaia and Arcadia, and Miss Chittenden rightly regards him as the 'Minoan' (I should rather say 'Pelasgian') partner of the πότνια θηρῶν⁴. If this 'Pelasgian' language may be regarded as an Indo-European *satem* language⁵, he might have been born in 'Sullenē' and so been called *Sullenios*. This may have been followed by a remarkable development: *a* the epithet of the male partner of the Pelasgian mother-goddess was given to Zeus⁶, and so it became the latter's epithet in the Spartan rhetra; *b* the name of the place was

referring to Plut. *Lyc.* VI and XIII. Cf. Fustel de Coulanges, *La cité antique*, 28th ed., p. 224, and M. Mühl, *Unters. zur altorientalischen und althellenischen Gesetzgebung*, Leipzig 1933, p. 84–88.

¹ Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 18.

² Chrimes, *op. cit.*, p. 484.

³ Woodward, *Historia*, I, 1950, p. 633.

⁴ *The Master of the Animals*, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 89–114; *Diaktoros Argeiphontes*, *AJA*, LII, 1948, p. 24–33.

⁵ Perhaps related to the Illyrian group; cf. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, I, p. 66 ff., 292.

⁶ This corresponds exactly with the results of modern investigations clearly summarized by W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods*, p. 58–64. Zeus takes the place of the original youthful consort of the Mother Goddess.

grecised into 'Kullene'. In this form the geographical adjective remained associated with Hermes. The version Σκυλλάντιος (Hes.) is probably a contamination of the two forms of the name¹.

The rhetra is written in the *oratio obliqua*. The question is what is the subject of the aorist participles ἴδρυσάμενον, φυλάξαντα, ὀβάξαντα, and καταστήσαντα². The infinitive ἀπελλάζειν does not make it clear, nor does Plutarch's interpretation that this word means ἔκκλησιάζειν, for ἔκκλησιάζειν may be used both intransitively and transitively, *viz.* to attend a meeting or to call a meeting. If the latter meaning is intended then a personal subject is implied, as in the Roman example of the meeting being convened by the magistrate. But this meaning of ἔκκλησιάζειν is rare, and the best interpretation probably is that the rhetra means 'having a meeting'. The subject then would be a vague 'one', *i.e.* 'the citizens of Sparta', provided the term is not taken in its technical sense.

With the word εἰσφέρειν a subject is badly wanted. It can

¹ Von Blumenthal misjudges this evolution when on the strength of Hesychius he reads in the rhetra: Διὸς Σκυλλάντιον καὶ 'Αθηνᾶς Σκυλλάντας (Hermes, LXXVII, 1942, p. 212). On the 'Minoan' character of Athena, cf. the studies of Nilsson: *Die Anfänge des Göttingen Athena*, Det. Kon. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-filol. Medd., IV, 7, 1921; completely revised in *GGR*, I, p. 323 ff.; *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*², p. 489 ff.

The extremely important studies of Ventris and Chadwick, however, make it probable that, at any rate before the Dorian invasion, Athena's name already occurs in a Greek text (*Evidence for Greek dialect in the Mycenaean archives*, JHS, LXXIII, 1953, p. 84-103; spec. p. 95). This might suggest that Athena is not only 'Minoan' but also Greek, or that the Greeks took over the worship of Athena far earlier than most scholars have assumed, or that 'Minoan' and Greek are both Indo-European, having the same religious concepts.

² According to some Lycurgus (Roussel, *Sparte*, p. 37), to others Apollo and to others again the *damos* (Wade-Gery, CQ, XXXVII, 1943, p. 66). A valuable contribution on the subject was made by Lenschau, *Die Entstehung des spartanischen Staates*, Klio, XXX, 1937, p. 279. In the following paragraph I endorse his view on the subject.

only mean 'to submit a proposal to the assembly'. This is the duty of the kings and elders. Attempts have been made to create a subject by altering the word *οὗτως*¹. But there is no more need for this than in the case of *ἀπελλάζειν*. *Οὗτως* may well be taken to mean: 'so constituted' (*viz.* 28 + 2)². This number of thirty was already referred to by Aristotle (V, 12) in connection with Lycurgus. The rhetra emphasizing the number of thirty fully agrees with this. It does not say that a gerousia should be constituted, but that thirty should make a gerousia (predicate). Plutarch, who likes tracing everything to Lycurgus, in V, 10 following the example of Aristotle (V, 12) interprets this as the institution of the gerousia, *ἡ κατάστασις τῶν γερόντων*. This cannot be correct, because there was without doubt a council of elders already in the early stages of Spartan public life. The comparative study of primitive communities is of great service here. Hammond rightly remarks: 'the wording of the rhetra stresses the number and not the gerousia'³.

With regard to *ἀφίστασθαι* the choice is between 'leave their seats', *i.e.* adjourn the meeting, or 'reject', *i.e.* refuse to accept amendments submitted by the people⁴. Wade-Gery, as a true son of a constitutional nation, advocates the latter translation on the ground that to get up and leave is an awkward practice⁵. I prefer to follow Wackernagel: the

¹ Cf. Wade-Gery (*art. cit.*): *τούτως* (= *τούτους*) instead of *οὗτως*; or *αὐτός* (= *αὐτός*): Sauppe; or *καὶ τός* (= *καὶ τός*): Hermann.

² So Treu, *art. cit.*, p. 29, and Hammond, *art. cit.*, p. 43. Personally I prefer the translation „simply”.

³ Von Blumenthal, *art. cit.*, p. 212: 'Nachdem er als Gerusia einschliesslich der Könige 30 (Mann) eingesetzt hat'.

⁴ On this question cf. Wade-Gery, CQ, XXXVII, 1943, p. 68. Wackernagel's translation quoted by Treu (p. 28): 'die Vorsitzenden entfernen sich, treten ab' is the most satisfactory. Cf. Hammond, *art. cit.*, p. 43-44.

⁵ Wade-Gery, *loc. cit.*: 'A cumbrous method of rejection'. He adds: 'Even if we could believe it was used in the Ekklesia it cannot have been in the probouleutic body'. A distinction between the members

meaning 'reject' does also occur, but not in that wide sense which presupposes an advanced parliamentary practice. If we envisage what happens at the meeting we should reach a better interpretation. The public meeting is opened with 'bringing in' a proposal, and is closed by the councillors retiring or leaving. Wade-Gery's interpretation leaves out a link in the rhetra which in the following summary is indicated by brackets: the proposals are brought in; [counter proposals or amendments from the part of the people, *if any*, are discussed; and *if the council does not regard these favourably*,] the council refuses to accept them. Apart from the question whether the people were entitled to amendments, which we shall discuss later, his interpretation conflicts with the spirit of the rhetra; the rhetra, after all, does not deal with eventualities but with institutions, phylae, obae, gerousia, apella, and with the meetings of the competent constitutional organizations¹. Our conclusion must be that *ἀφίστασθαι* means to adjourn the meeting, to withdraw.

The meeting of the people must take place *ἄρας ἐξ ἄρας* (Wilamowitz: *ἄρας ἐξ ἄραν*), season after season, *i.e.* at fixed intervals. There is no further indication of the time nor is

of the assembly and of the council seems obvious whenever a meeting of the gerousia is discussed. But as the gerontes are fully qualified citizens they are at the same time members of the assembly. They appear there not only as citizens but also in their capacity of councillors. Not the kings but the entire gerousia submitted the rhetra, (*i.e.* proposed law) to the people. If objections by the people cause them to withdraw, *ἀφίστασθαι*, they adjourn the meeting of the people because the chairman of the assembly, one of the kings, also belongs to the gerousia and retires with his fellow-members leaving the assembly without a chairman. This procedure then is followed in the assembly, not in the probouleutic body.

¹) Hammond, *art. cit.*, p. 43, in his opposition to Wade-Gery rightly stresses this essential point: 'The meaning of the aorist participles is clearly shown by *ἰσρωάμενον*: *ipso facto* this makes a new foundation, and the other aorist participles should have the same meaning'.

there any mention of the frequency of the meetings. This has been regarded as strange and it has been suggested that $\delta\kappa\epsilon\lambda\lambda\zeta\epsilon\nu$ holds a time-indication. An analogous passage is found in Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 950-1. Here the words $\epsilon\kappa\tau\omega\eta\delta\omega\eta\epsilon\tau\delta\zeta\delta\omega\zeta$ are connected with $\theta\epsilon\sigma\mu\phi\sigma\eta\zeta\epsilon\nu$, the meaning being 'annually'. Sparta has a feast called *apellai* (the singular does not occur), celebrated once a year which leads to a similar interpretation of $\delta\omega\zeta\delta\omega\zeta$ in the rhetra. The scholium on *Thuc.* I, 67, 3 speaks of meetings at each full moon, which gave rise to the current translation of monthly. To evade this obstacle in the sources Wade-Gery¹ proposes the existence of two *apellai*, a major one held once a year, and a minor one every month. For the later period this solution seems plausible, but at the stage indicated by Plutarch for the rhetra everything points to one meeting, *viz.* of the entire population, being considered adequate. Quite possibly, one meeting per year was deemed sufficient in the troubled times described in V. It should be remembered that Plutarch refers to the rhetra in connection with his discussion on the gerousia. This was the dominant body in the time of the rhetra. We shall see presently how insignificant the civil rights were, and this makes it all the more probable that the apella met but rarely. It is plausible that, in the fifth century and after, the popular assembly gained in influence and that the scholium on Thucydides² is right. More frequent meetings did not conflict with the rhetra, which speaks of *times*, not of $\epsilon\tau\omega\zeta$ or $\epsilon\tau\omega\mu\tau\delta\zeta$.³ This ambiguity in the law served the

¹ *Art. cit.*, p. 66 ff. Hammond, *art. cit.*, p. 43 note 8. On $\delta\omega\zeta$ in Plutarch, cf. H. Bolkestein in *Hermeneus* XXII, 1951/2, p. 64 f.

² The scholium on Thucydides I, 67, 3: $\tau\delta\eta\epsilon\iota\omega\theta\delta\tau\alpha\lambda\delta\gamma\epsilon\iota\delta\omega\zeta$, δη δὲ πανοδήνη δηγίγνετο δεῖ.

³ The words 'season after season' do not imply a regular recurrence of the meetings, as we would expect in strict legal terminology. This lack of accuracy is on a par with the absence of a subject with $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\zeta\epsilon\omega\tau\alpha$ etc. discussed above, and supports the view, defended there, that for these verbs a definite subject is not to be looked for. The vagueness is intentional.

purpose of later reformers. It seems, however, unlikely that it has been introduced deliberately with the object of paving the way for future alterations, which might thus be introduced without going against the letter of the law. Rather was it prompted by the desire not to be restricted. In the first stages of written law clear-cut definitions of rights and duties were regarded with disfavour. If exceptional measures were demanded by circumstances, they would fall outside the rigid provisions of the law. 'Y changer une lettre, y déplacer un mot, en altérer le rythme, c'eût été détruire la loi elle-même'¹. In this way the Areopagus in Athens wielded great power. The Spartan tradition that no law should be committed to writing (XIII) goes back to this fear of the written word. Sparta moreover knew a certain aversion to the influence of the popular assembly. The most important decisions recorded by Herodotus and Thucydides are rarely popular decisions, let alone popular decisions in a democratic sense. Finally, because the term *ἀπελλάζειν* must originally have been related to the ancient annual feast *Apellai*, our conclusion should be that the popular assembly had to meet once every year.

The constitutional phase is as follows: at a certain moment in Sparta's patriarchal community a faint-hearted beginning was made with a popular assembly. Apollo was said to have been concerned with this, as is shown by the etymology offered by Plutarch: *ἀπελλάζειν* is derived from Apollo. The fact that Lycurgus, too, was associated with it (just as with the institution of the gerousia, which is palpably wrong) may be an indication that a founder of the Apella was sought, and may well have a genuine historical foundation. In the eighth century a law-giver in Sparta – why not call him Lycurgus? – laid down that once per year a popular assembly should meet. The measure is, however, concealed by Plutarch's main intention, *viz.* to describe the powers of the gerousia.

¹ Fustel de Coulanges, *op. cit.*, p. 224 (Cf. p. 161, note 4).

Does he, in doing so, violate the text of the rhetra? I do not think so. The text is exceedingly plain and colourless and Plutarch's story (V) permits to conclude: in a time of difficulty the people asserted themselves; this was offset by the bestowal of greater powers on the gerousia by the law-giver, who on that occasion also determined a place for the popular assembly¹.

Our conclusion regarding the text of the rhetra is: *a* the use of the word rhetra dating from a period when the community had not yet been secularized, *b* the central position of the gerousia as it appears from the context, and *c* the probable infrequency of the popular meetings – all these suggest an ancient document. The language of the rhetra, as Wackernagel remarked, does not prove anything. The text of the rhetra has been tampered with in all sorts of ways, and neither the supporters nor the opponents of its authenticity can appeal to the language².

We must go on to examine more closely the question of the tribes and the obes in conjunction with Plutarch's commentary. The same applies, even to a greater extent, to the rhetra's final defective clause, as this can only be interpreted with the aid of Plutarch's commentary.

¹ Plutarch is not out of order here. We shall see presently how the ancient texts in VI, 2 and 8 refer first of all to the gerousia. When other institutions are mentioned this is only done with the object of underlining the growing influence of the gerousia.

² Tentative reconstructions like that of Wade-Gery have in my opinion no value for the historical question of authenticity. With regard to the philological aspect we do well to listen to Wilamowitz's frank admission (*Arist. und Athen*, II, 24): 'Mit dem dialekte zu operieren vermag ich nicht'. It is also futile, I believe, to turn the rhetra into Laconian with the object of proving that we are dealing with a *lex sacra*, wrongly interpreted by Plutarch or even by Aristotle already. A reconstruction of the original text cannot offer any proof here. Against the theory itself it may be argued that it entirely conflicts with Plutarch's statement. Since we have learned to rate this author as a historian higher than past generations did, it seems risky to disregard his explanation.

§ 3. PLUTARCH'S COMMENTARY

The question where Plutarch derived his information is answered in the commentary itself. His guide is Aristotle, in the latter's lost work *Λαξεδαμονίων πολιτεία*¹. On the strength of a parallel with the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία we may assume that Plutarch quotes Aristotle at first hand, for the Lives of Theseus, Solon, Themistocles, Cimon, Pericles and Nicias show the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία distinctly as one of the sources. The quotations from Aristotle mentioning the author's name are nowhere so numerous as in the Life of Lycurgus (I, V, VI, XXVIII, XXXI). This is only natural. To Plutarch it is easier to obtain reliable information about Athens than about Sparta, for in the latter case there are many additions and improvements of a tendentious and philosophical nature². He was well aware that his subject would land him in a historical hornets' nest; he alludes to this in I³. His method was to take the best sources available, and this led him to Aristotle. This makes it very probable that in VI Aristotle is not only his informant for the interpretation of the rhetra but that he actually handed down the rhetra. We have herein a salutary warning not to be too rash in rejecting elements in Plutarch's commentary.

Kessler, a representative of the hypercritical school, held the view that Plutarch had only second-hand information and borrowed his statements about Aristotle from Hermippus. This theory is unfounded⁴, as is the imputation that Plutarch, without being aware of the fact, used sources that were contradictory on essential points⁵.

¹ Cf. Wade-Gery's summary in *CQ*, XXXVIII, 1944, p. 115, and Hammond, *art. cit.*, p. 56, note 73.

² Cf. Ollier, *Le mirage spartiate*, I and II.

³ Ήπι Λυκούργου τοῦ νομοθέτου καθόλου μὲν οὐδὲν έστιν εἰπεῖν ἀναμφισβήτητον.

⁴ Hermippus has been mentioned twice, on unimportant details (V and XXIII). That Plutarch knew the *Politeiae* of Aristotle, is clear from *Mor.* 1093 C (*Non posse suaviter vivi sec. Epic.* X), and perhaps also from *Sulla* XXVI. Cf. Theander, *op. cit.*, p. 52, note 4.

⁵ Cf. p. 205 ff. on *Lyc.* VII, and p. 126 ff. on *Lyc.* XXIX.

It is a matter of regret that Plutarch's commentary does not enlighten us on these items¹.

It is clear that phylae were the ancient kinship groups among the invading Dorians. 'The military functions of the tribal system are of course as old as warfare, but the system is older still. The idea that it had its origin in warfare is a gratuitous invention'². Possibly we must assume the existence of two verbs not occurring elsewhere, *viz.* φυλάζειν and ὀβάζειν, *i.e.* to form tribes and to form obes. In that case sceptics are right both with regard to Plutarch and to the rhetra: the rhetra is the product of somebody who wished to ascribe all parts of the Spartan laws to Lycurgus. We know, however, that the text of the rhetra does not trace the gerousia to Lycurgus. The same applies to the phylae, which we know for certain to be older than the eighth century (*e.g.* Schol. Pind. Pyth. V, 92). Φυλάξαντα may equally well be derived from φυλάττειν, and in that case the stipulation in the rhetra runs: the division in phylae, *i.e.* the old tribal division, is to be preserved. This implies that the rhetra expressly sanctions the ancient division in phylae and introduces a new division, *viz.* in obes. It is however tempting to assume beside ὀβάζειν another ἀπαξί εἰρημένον in φυλάζειν. Probably Plutarch, if we consider his partiality for finding an ἀρχή, had the *original* form of the φυλαῖ in mind; but his words do not disclose this³. About Aristotle unfortunately

¹ For older literature cf. Busolt-Swoboda, *Griech. Staatshunde*, II, p. 643 ff. Also Kahrstedt, *op. cit.*, I, p. 20. Ehrenberg, *Neugründer des Staates*, p. 23; the article „obai“ in P-W, XVII, 1937, col. 1694 ff. Witkowski, *Die spartanische Heeresgliederung und der Ursprung des Ephorats*, Eos, XXXV, 1934, p. 73 ff. Lenschau, *Klio*, XXX, 1937, p. 279; Wade-Gery in CQ, XXXVIII, 1944, p. 116 ff.

² Thomson, *Studies in ancient Greek society: The prehistoric Aegean*, 1949, p. 107.

³ The perfect προστηγόρευειν after the aorists φυλάξαι and διελεῖν

nothing is known in this connection. The text of the rhetra undoubtedly leaves open the possibility of φυλάττειν. As we have reason to regard the rhetra as an *ancient* document we should not question the reliability of the tradition – which is badly affected by the derivation of φυλάξαντα from φυλάζειν, the phylae being much older than the rhetra – and smuggle an atrocity into the rhetra merely for the sake of the supposed etymological resemblance with ὀβάζειν-ὀβάξαντα¹.

What are these obes whose institution is mentioned in the rhetra and in Plutarch's commentary? The familiar opinion is that the division in phylae is the ancient Dorian tribal division, while the obe is a local unity, a ward of Sparta². Until recently six wards had been identified: Pitanae, Limnae, Cynosura, Mesoia, Amyclae and Neopolis. The inscriptions mentioning these wards are of a late date. Recently Beattie – in a Laconian inscription (SEG, XI, 475a) which he interpreted as an ancient lex sacra relating to the cult of a goddess – is almost certain to have traced a seventh obe, ὀβά 'Αρκάλων³.

may indicate a 'resultatives Perfekt', cf. Schwyz, *Griech. Grammatik*, II, p. 263. Cf. also οἰδών in Tyrt. fragm. 2.

¹ Hasebroek, *Griechische Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, p. 207; Lenschau, *loc. cit.*, and particularly Witkowski maintain, though on different grounds, that φυλάξαντα is derived from φυλάττειν. Ehrenberg in P-W, col. 1700 strongly opposes this: 'Das Nebeneinander von Phylen- und Oben-Ordnung, von Dreizahl und Fünfzahl, ist für Sparta so charakteristisch, dass jede Erklärung, die das *um einer geforderten Einheitlichkeit willen* (the italics are mine) vernachlässigt, irregeht, von der sprachlichen Form der Rhetra ganz zu schweigen. φυλάξαντα kommt von φυλάζειν'. I wish to put two remarks here: 1. Are the three phylae and the five obes an argument against a derivation from φυλάττειν? I do not think so. To maintain that φυλάξαντα is derived from φυλάζειν because ὀβάξαντα comes from ὀβάζειν, is a very argument 'ciner geforderten Einheitlichkeit willen'. 2. With regard to the grammatical form of the rhetra I refer to Wilamowitz's weighty opinion (cf. p. 168, note 2).

² Ehrenberg in P-W, *s.v.* Obai and *s.v.* Sparta, gives a clear summary of this theory. Cf. Latte, *ibid.*, *s.v.* Phyle.

³ *An early Laconian Lex sacra*, CQ, XLV (N.S., I.), 1951, p. 46–58.

We do not know the original number of obes. The conventional view putting the number at five (Neopolis being a later creation) has been made untenable by Beattie's discovery. (This applies with even greater force to all reconstructions of Spartan constitutional history which make the number of magistrates correspond with the five obes). But the question remains whether the view that the obes had a local character must also be abandoned. Beattie himself returns to the old view that the obes were constituent parts of the Lacedaemonian tribes but he admits that 'some may be inclined to continue to regard the obes as being in some sense wards of the city'. I am inclined to take my stand among the latter, the more so as Beattie further admits that 'the five (or six) obes hitherto identified may have been, in effect, wards of Sparta *after* the dissolution of the Lacedaemonian league'¹.

My theory that the obes were from the beginning connected with local organization of the city of Sparta starts from a definition of the obe which, in the form in which it is presented, is certainly wrong. They have been regarded as military groups, an 'obal army' having existed beside a 'tribal army'. The evidence offered for the existence of an 'obal army' is unconvincing². Yet the advocates of such an army were right in so far as they pointed to the geographical names of the known obes. Beattie regards the newly discovered obe Arcalia also as a geographical name. Evidently the citizens of the Achaean city Amyclae and also the *Neopolitai* (wherever they were situated) were given a certain status in the Spartan community, *viz.* in obes. This status was not that of *Perioikoi*. Amyclae and Neopolis were parts of the civil administration and later on, when the army was recruited on geographical lines, they probably became the bases for a military division

¹ Beattie, *art. cit.*, p. 49.

² Wade-Gery, CQ, XXXVIII, 1944, p. 118, mentions as documentary evidence Aristotle, fr. 541 and 540, and Herodotus, IX, 53 and 57. None of these passages mentions an 'obal army'. Aristotle speaks of μόρια and λόχοι. For Herodotus cf. p. 174.

also. I would now venture to submit the following reconstruction. The extension of the Spartan territory entailed the problem whether the inhabitants of the conquered territories were to remain in serfdom. Plutarch describes this problem in II. Fairness demanded a different treatment of those who voluntarily co-operated with Sparta, but this view took a long time to assert itself. In military matters the merging of these 'allies' with the 'tribal army' was not considered, as is shown by the fact that Tyrtaeus still describes the military system based on the $\varphi\lambda\alpha\iota$ ¹. But, all the same, close relations between the genuine Spartans and these loyal allies existed in many other fields, economic, social and probably also administrative and juridical. Military exclusiveness made the institution of *obes* necessary if the loyal allies were to be given a place in the body politic which distinguished them from the serfs². I believe the institution of the *obes* to have aimed at a union of all free citizens, both the genuine Spartans and the inhabitants of Amyclae who were so closely associated with Sparta, and later those of Neopolis. The *Amyklaioi* and the *Neopolitai* naturally also had military obligations but organically these were for the time being the same as those of the helots: they were an appendix of the tribal army. When later on the army was divided into *lochoi*, means were found to abolish for these loyal comrades the discrimination with regard to military duties.

¹ Thanks to Hammond's clever study (p. 50-52) it is doubtful whether from Tyrt. fragm. 1 we may conclude that in the poet's time the Spartan 'tribal army' still existed. (Miss Chrimes for instance concludes from fragm. 1,12 that 'a close connection of the (Spartan) army organisation in the seventh century with the three Dorian tribes' must have existed, *op. cit.*, p. 393). If Hammond is right that the lines 14 ff., $\tau\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma\; \delta\iota\; \dots\; \pi\pi\alpha\theta\mu\theta\alpha$, contrast with the preceding part, the question remains whether the preceding lines refer to the old situation in Sparta (Hammond), or to the conditions with the enemy, who is to be engaged. The adjective $\delta\pi\theta\pi\phi\delta\nu\omega\varsigma$, which elsewhere only applies to enemies, might support the latter view.

² On this point my conclusion agrees fairly well with Hammond's, *art. cit.*, p. 60, note 102.

I would take this opportunity to attempt the rehabilitation of a passage in Herodotus in conjunction with a place in Thucydides where Herodotus is repudiated. In IX, 53 Herodotus speaks of a Πιτανήτης λόχος in 479 B.C. *i.e.*, a λόχος of the obe Pitane. But in I, 20,3 Thucydides says curtly that a Πιτανάτης λόχος did not exist. Usually a choice between the two authors is made without any comment¹. But it is quite feasible that in a more remote period – not the one referred to by Herodotus and earlier than the time of which Thucydides had information – the first step towards military recognition of the loyal comrades was to give them, also in the army, the name of the civil unit, the obe, to which they belonged. Presumably, this measure was resented by the conservative Spartans who wished to maintain in the army the distinction between phylae (Spartans) and the new citizens. The only effective manner to undo its provision was to grant the name of the obe to all soldiers, including the genuine Spartans who were already subdivided in phylae. In this way, as soon as the entire army consisted of soldiers who bore the name of their obe, the ancient and the new citizens still remained different in that the former also belonged to the phylae. So in practice the inequality remained, which was exactly what the conservatives had aimed at. In a military organization old names have a habit of sticking and in this way the custom of 'calling persons after the obes', reminiscent of the conflict between ancient and new citizens shortly after the settling of the Dorians, may have persisted after the division of the Spartan army in *lochoi* had been introduced. The old name probably

¹ Wade-Gery, CQ, XXXVIII, 1944, p. 121: 'There is little doubt that Thucydides has slipped up badly Few historians will now doubt that there was, in 479, a lochos based on Pitana and composed of Pitanae: it may not have been called Πιτανάτης λόχος'. Gomme, *Commentary*, I, p. 138, assumes, however, that Herodotus was mistaken, though quite understandably, because there were five lochoi and five obes. Differently Miss Chrimes, *op. cit.*, p. 318 ff.

survived longest in the units which had won distinction in battle under that name. This is illustrated by the esteem enjoyed by Pitane and Amyclae. It seems an irony of fate that the obal name, intended to indicate the new citizens in the Spartan state, should have persisted longest in the circle of the ancient Spartan military conservatives. If the evolution was as I have sketched it, we can understand the *name* Πιτανήτης λόχος being mentioned by Herodotus and also Thucydides' flat denial of its *existence*¹.

If Beattie is correct in his derivation of the word ὄβα (ώβα), the above explanation would still hold good. Beattie says: 'Originally ὄβα was a collective noun cognate with *ōFōs (f. ὄβη, 'old woman'), Lat. *avus*, IE. *ōwos. It denotes properly a group of kinsmen and dependants ruled by an hereditary chief or patriarch, together with their dwellings and lands'². This derivation, doubtful though it may be, I shall show to agree with my explanation. It can be argued that the Dorian invaders were divided into phylae, and the population they found in obes. In both cases the organization in the beginning was on a tribal basis. The reorganization which incorporated the non-Dorians into the social organization was effected on the basis of their own 'tribal' system of obes. To the ruling classes this division of their quondam antagonists had only a geographical meaning. To the Dorian conquerors the word obe merely indicated that certain elements of the old population had their dwellings and lands in certain localities. That to the Dorians it had no further consequences is all the more clear from the fact that they themselves used the word φυλά. Both Dorian supporters and Dorian opponents of the introduction into the army of the obal name looked upon the word as a geographical indication.

¹ An indication in favour of my theory might be the name of the λόχος Μεσοάτης in schol. on Thuc. IV, 8 (cf. Aristotle fragm. 541), and the fact that occasionally more than five lochoi are mentioned.

² Beattie, *art. cit.*, p. 48.

Let us return to Plutarch's commentary. In VI, 6 Plutarch obviously gives an interpretation of the closing clause of the rhetra. The preceding words *εἰσφέρειν καὶ ἀφίστασθαι* are not discussed in his commentary, apparently because he believes them clear enough in themselves, and moreover he reverts to them when in § 8 he discusses the rider to the rhetra. But *τὴν δύνατον τῶν γερόντων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων προτεθεῖσαν ἐπικρῖναι κύριος* ἦν δῆμος unmistakably refers to the defective passage which, following the emendation put forward independently by Treu and Wade-Gery, may be presented as follows: *δάμων ἀνταγορίαν ἡμεν καὶ κράτος*, 'the people have the right to contradict and have power'. True, Plutarch's commentary has *τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἀθροισθέντος εἰπεῖν μὲν οὐδενὶ γνώμην τῶν ἄλλων ἔφειτο*, *i.e.* 'when the people were assembled he did not permit anybody else to submit a proposal', but this does not disagree with 'to contradict'. According to Plutarch the people have no right to make counterproposals, but they do have the right of decision and the ultimate authority (*ἐπικρῖναι καὶ κράτος*).

To the emendation *ἀνταγορία*, however, two objections may be raised. The first is philological: in our tradition the word does not occur till a much later period. In view of the gaps in the tradition this objection would not seem to be valid, and it has been convincingly refuted by Wade-Gery¹. The other objection is more important and is of a historical nature. Aristotle in *Politics* II, 3, 1273 *a* 6 discusses the Carthaginian constitution. In that city *τῷ βουλομένῳ τοῖς εἰσφερομένοις ἀντειπεῖν ξέστι*, *ὅπερ ἐν ταῖς ἑτέραις πολιτείαις οὐκ ἔστιν*. These 'other constitutions' are those of Crete and Sparta, which Aristotle had discussed before that of Carthage. Thus the conjecture *ἀνταγορία* in the rhetra now seems untenable, for Aristotle himself says distinctly that *ἀντειπεῖν* was not allowed. Wade-Gery, who proposes the version *ἀνταγορία*,

¹ CQ, XXXVII, 1943, p. 64. For a solution different from mine see Hammond, *art. cit.*, p. 44.

chooses perilous paths in defending it against Aristotle's unambiguous pronouncement. His eagerness to press his point causes him to question Aristotle's dependability or, by regrouping the Aristotelian textual tradition, to make out that Aristotle's final words refer to a different passage¹.

I believe nevertheless that the word *ἀνταγορία* can be accepted without conflicting with Aristotle. It should be remembered that at an earlier stage of political life various terms did not possess the definite technical meaning which they acquired in later periods. The word *rhetra* is itself an example of a word of this kind having a vague meaning at the start. It might have meant a divine pronouncement, a divine oracle, but also – and later exclusively – human law. The occurrence in VI of *φήτρα* in its oldest sense appeared to be a confirmation of the authenticity of Plutarch's *rhetra* text, and I believe the use of *ἀνταγορία* to be another similar confirmation. This word, too, reveals the vagueness of the ancient terminology. 'Ανταγορία means 'contradiction', i.e. simply 'to be in opposition'. Later on *ἀνταγορεύειν*, like *ἀντιτίθειν*, acquired the technical significance of 'submitting counter-proposals'. The latter meaning occurs in Aristotle's *Politics* II, 3, 1273 *a* 6. Aristotle's idea is expressed by Plutarch in the words *εἰπεῖν οὐδενὶ γνώμην τῶν ἄλλων ἔρειτο*. Here, too, we find the technical meaning: nobody was permitted to table a motion.

The relation between *gerousia* and *damos* was therefore as follows. A council of elders consisting of thirty members, *thus constituted* (*οὕτως*) [other translation: 'simply'] had the task of making decisions. The *damos*, i.e. the fighting men, citizens of the military state, had to sanction the proposals. These men are the country's *χράτος*. The fact that they represent the physical power implies that they are the support of the decisions, as on them depends the execution of the proposals. If we are surprised at such almost democratic

¹ CQ, XXXVII, 1943, p. 70 ff.

ideas, we should bear in mind that we are dealing with an assembly of soldiers whose consent the rulers may win in various manners, including deceit. The rulers realize that the state's existence depends on the soldiers, and that their consent is indispensable. But their criticism is not acceptable if it takes the form of counter-proposals. Soldiers are not to be co-rulers. So the *damos* here does not rank equally with the council, it may 'contradict', but not submit counter-proposals.

So we find here an inconsistency in the Spartan system common to all dictatorships. The sovereignty of the people, if pushed to extremes, leads to the sovereignty of their leaders. There is *ἐπικρῆναι καὶ κράτος*, but not the consultation inherent in the right to submit amendments or counter-proposals. A system that knows the *ἀνταγόρα* but not the *ἰσαγόρα* is anything but democratic. When Hammond uses the words 'right of discussion'¹, the expression is misleading. The commons could only say 'no' which, if it can be deemed a discussion at all, is only a discussion in a very limited sense. Hammond overrates the 'right of discussion' and so finds in Plutarch's commentary, in the text of the new clause and in Tyrtaeus (cf. p. 184 ff.) more than they actually contain.

Miss Chrimes' opinion² that *καὶ κράτος* must be an interpolation is due to her underrating the importance of the commons in the military state. To her interpretation of the preceding words as *διαμεδῶν κυρίαν ήμην* Woodward has raised sound objections³. Her arbitrary division of the rhetra into two parts (after *ἀφίστασθαι*) conflicts completely with the tradition of Aristotle and Plutarch. There is no need to bother about her very subjective reconstruction. The burden of proof of her conjectures does not rest with those who do not accept it. Her arbitrary method shows up very clearly in these three points:

¹ *Art. cit.*, p. 46.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 479.

³ *Historia*, I, 1950, p. 633.

1. she takes $\kappa\alpha\iota\kappa\mu\alpha\delta\tau\omega\kappa$ for an interpolation,
2. she believes the original oracle to have finished at $\delta\varphi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\theta\omega\iota$. The closing words of the rhetra and the additional clause belong together as an enactment of purely Spartan origin,
3. in $\gamma\alpha\mu\alpha\delta\omega\alpha\iota$ the γ is a dialect form for *delta*, but in $\gamma\alpha\mu\alpha\delta\omega\alpha\iota$ for *happa* (cf. Woodward, *art. cit.*).

In conclusion, we may now state that except for the institution of the gerousia, and perhaps for $\varphi\alpha\lambda\alpha\zeta\varphi\alpha\lambda\alpha\zeta\alpha\tau\alpha$, there is complete harmony between the text of the rhetra and Plutarch's commentary based on Aristotle. There is no inconsistency in the terminology, provided the terms are correctly interpreted. The whole picture corresponds with what we should expect in a military state. Obviously, with such a vague wording of popular rights difficulties were bound to arise. They led to the addition of a clause to the rhetra.

§ 4. CONDITIONS ATTENDING THE ADDITION OF A SUPPLEMENTARY CLAUSE

It should be remembered that Plutarch's chief source for this chapter, Aristotle, had dated Lycurgus *ca* 776 B.C. on the strength of the Olympic discus (cf. p. 104 ff.). Two generations after this the first Messenian war occurred, ending with the reduction of the mountain fortress Ithome. The Messenians were made helots. Polydorus and Theopompos ruled at the time. Plutarch dates the rider to the rhetra in this troubled period. This very war, so momentous for Sparta, revealed the importance of the *damos* of the fighting men; it also demonstrated the imperfections of the rhetra. The soldiers would of course make every attempt to extend their war-time influence also to the popular assembly. This caused considerable difficulties. If the $\delta\varphi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\varphi\omega\alpha\iota$, the 'contradicting', of the *damos* is only negative, leaving the *damos* no opportunity to amend proposals – a thing distinctly forbidden – co-operation between council and popular assembly is made impossible

to the extent of crippling the entire legislative machinery. If the *damos* persists in its *ἀνταγορία*, nothing can be accomplished. For the people possess τὸ κράτος, and this can only mean that a proposal needs the people's sanction before it can come into force (cf. VI, 6). As the self-confidence of the people increased, the *ἀνταγορία* often led to an attempt at amendment of the proposals. Plutarch says so in VI, 7: τῶν πολλῶν ἀφαιρέσσει καὶ προσθέσσει τὰς γνώμας διαστρεφόντων καὶ παραβιαζομένων (the participles to be taken 'de conatu') ¹.

There is no need at all to differ from Plutarch and to regard the supplementary clause as a part of the original law. This was done by Wade-Gery, and no wonder. He gives *ἀνταγορία* the wide meaning of 'submitting counter-proposals'. As such undisguised popular influence is unthinkable in ancient times, and least of all in Sparta, he assumes that the law from the outset held a corrective and he therefore joins VI, 8 directly with VI, 2. This harsh procedure may be avoided if *ἀνταγορία* is given the above interpretation.

§ 5. THE NEW CLAUSE AND ITS MEANING

'If the people are of the opinion that the proposal is not right, the elders and the kings must adjourn the meeting (or: be withdrawers)'.

Ἐρούστο is much discussed. The current change to *αλεῖτο* (or some other form of *αλεῖσθαι*) is unnecessary and absurd; the people cannot 'choose' a wrong decision. A proposal is sub-

¹ Von Blumenthal, *art. cit.*, p. 214, is right in spite of Wade-Gery's opposition, CQ, XXXVIII, 1944, p. 8 summarized as follows: 'The rhetra I believe shows us an *ekklesia* with a probouleutic council. I do not understand how such an *ekklesia*, if it may not discuss or amend, ever comes to have a σχολή βήτρα before it'. I hope that the present chapter taken as a whole will show that Wade-Gery's starting point is wrong and that, apart from discussion and amendment, a popular assembly may have a less exalted task, a thing happily unthinkable in the country of the Mother of parliaments but still prevailing in the *Reichstag* when Wade-Gery wrote his article.

mitted to them by the gerousia. In the assembly the people exercise their right of contradiction and their decision reflects their own opinion. The middle voice *ἔροιτο* (*Ἐροιτο*, med. of *ἔρω*) is clear enough. The translation is not that given by Wade-Gery: 'if the people submit a wrong proposal', but should be: 'if the people declare the proposal to be wrong': *σκολιάν* as an adjective does not refer to a counter-proposal by the people but to the proposal submitted by the gerousia¹. The words *αἱ δὲ σκολιάν δὲ δῆμος ἔροιτο* then relate to the situation described in § 3 above: the people persist in their disapproval and so, unless a new proposal is made, no valid decision can be taken.

In order to escape from this dilemma, the rider holds that *τοὺς πρεσβυγενέας καὶ ἀρχαγέτας ἀποστατήρες ἦμεν*. All depends here on a correct translation of *ἀποστατήρες ἦμεν*: Plutarch interprets it by *δλως ἀρίστασθαι καὶ διαλύειν τὸν δῆμον*: to retire straight away and to eliminate the people² on the ground that the assembly has tampered with the proposal and changed its object. By saying *σκολιάν* the assembly in the eyes of the gerousia has given a wrong interpretation of the *γνώμη*.

In accordance with this explanation by Plutarch, *ἀποστατήρες ἦμεν* should be rendered by 'be withdrawers', i.e. the kings and councillors must go their own way. This reveals

¹ I quite agree with Wade-Gery's preference of the reading *ἔροιτο* in CQ, 1943, p. 70. But his translation: 'if the *damos* formulates crooked' I believe to be wrong, as is his interpretation of the middle voice *ἔροιτο*: 'I have no suggestion, unless possibly it indicated the fact that, while two parties were in question, the one party 'makes its own formulation' (instead of accepting a formula)'. Perhaps Fournier is right in translating *Od. XI, 542: εἰροντο δὲ κτῆσα* by 'ils *racontaient leurs soucis*' (*op. cit.*, p. 97).

² These words are not to be taken as synonyms, as is done by B. Perrin in the Loeb translation: 'dismiss outright and dissolve the session'. *Ἄριστασθαι* and *διαλύειν* both are intensified by the accompanying *δλως*. *Ἄριστασθαι* therefore is more pregnant here than in the rhetra.

one of the oldest meanings of ἀφίστημι and its derivatives, which later passes into the meaning of revolutionary activity and apostasy¹.

The fact that ἀφίστασθαι and διαλύειν τὸν δῆμον are not to be taken as synonyms in the meaning of 'adjourning the meeting' but in the wider sense given above is corroborated by Plutarch's words μὴ χυροῦν. If the people persist in their ἀνταγορία, no 'sanctioning' takes place – which is equivalent to abandoning the entire legislative procedure. So the work is proceeded with as if no *damos* existed, and then there is no need for χυροῦν, for the gerousia is a law unto itself².

It is out of the question that the words μὴ χυροῦν should refer to proposals submitted by the popular assembly and not 'taken over' by the elders. First of all, there is as we saw no proposal by the people, and secondly, χυροῦν means 'to sanction', not 'to take over'. To my knowledge this sanctioning was nowhere the duty of the gerousia. Grammatically,

¹ Miss Chrimes asserts that to ἀποστάτηρ no intransitive meaning can be attributed. Her objections are: 1. besides ἀποστάτηρ we find ἀποστάτης. 2. the termination -τήρ, -τήρος has exclusively a causative meaning, particularly in the older literature. Against this I may advance: 1. words on -τήρ are archaic and in the Attic and Ionian dialect they are replaced by words on -της (Cf. Ernst Fraenkel, *Geschichte der griechischen nomina agentis auf τήρ, -τηρ, -της (-τ-)*, 1910–1912. A. Debrunner, *Griechische Wortbildung*, 1917, and P. Chantraine, *La formation des noms en grec ancien*, 1933). There is no question of words in -τήρ having exclusively a passive meaning and those in -της only a causative one. The occurrence of a nomen agentis in -της beside one in -τήρ does not imply that the latter should be causative. 2. in the ancient literature I found the following examples of nomina agentis in -τήρ having an intransitive meaning: Ibycus fr. 59 Bgk: στερρωτήρα στρατόν, i.e. τὸν ἔχοντα στέρρην ('clad in hides' L–S²) from στέρρον 'cover with hides' (cf. Fraenkel, I, p. 157). Pindar has μυκστήρ in a causative meaning (*Pyth.* XII, 24) and in a passive sense (*Nem.* I, 16).

² Such is also Hammond's conclusion (*art. cit.*, p. 46): 'moreover the presumption underlying the rider is that in such a case the proposal of the unanimous Gerousia becomes law; otherwise the deadlock is not resolved'.

either δῆμον is understood as the subject of κυροῦν – but this seems far-fetched in view of the succeeding ἀφίστασθαι καὶ διαλύειν which have the gerousia as their subject –, or κυροῦν has a causative meaning which we also find in modern expressions like 'to proceed to ratify', *i.e.* to table the ratification, or 'having a meeting of the house', *i.e.* convening such a meeting¹.

Our interpretation both of the rhetra and of the rider differs from the current view. It has the advantages of maintaining in the rhetra the popular duties of sanctioning (κράτος) and of ἀνταγοπλα, without conflicting with Aristotle's *Politics*, and also of regarding the rider as a *later* consolidation of the power of the gerousia, with the object of preventing the unproductive ἀνταγοπλα from causing a paralysis. Finally, this interpretation remains in agreement with the current picture of the historical evolution, according to which this extension of the gerousia's influence took place during the crisis of the first Messenian war under Polydorus and Theopompus.

One question remains. How did Polydorus and Theopompus persuade the *damos* to accept the rider, which was tantamount to political suicide? The same question faces those who take a different view of the rhetra. It is even more urgent if VI, 2 is taken to convey that the people had the right to propose amendments, for in that case the people are stripped of a right more important than mere contradiction, *i.e.* obstruction of a proposal. Plutarch refers to our question in VI, 9: ἔπεισαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα προστάσσοντος. According to him the chief motive put forward was therefore of a religious nature. There is nothing in this view which seems unacceptable. In the war which was then conducted Sparta's very existence was in the balance and we

¹ If we choose the latter interpretation we have a clear case, 'wo es entweder aus dem Zusammenhang der Rede oder von selbst klar ist, dass das Subjekt die Handlung nicht selbst ausübt' (Kühner-Gerth, *Ausführliche Gramm. der gr. Sprache*, II, 1, 99, 6).

know that at the start her chances were poor. In every period of war necessary curtailment of civic rights has to be advocated by an appeal to public spirit. In ancient times (and they do not stand alone in this respect) this appeal took the form of the slogan: 'It is God's will!'. That is not all. In a community where politically the people has not yet come of age, but still lives in the stage of the *ἀνταγορία*, civic rights are not yet the living and valued property of the masses. I see three reasons why the acceptance of the rider to the rhetra should not surprise us: 1. curtailment of civic rights is usual in war-time, 2. religious motives count heavily both in turbulent times and with primitive communities, 3. civic rights, when they are as scant as is indicated in the rhetra, possess no real life in the eyes of the masses.

§ 6. ECHOES OF THE NEW CLAUSE IN TYRTAEUS

The versus of Tyrtaeus quoted by Plutarch are:

Φοίβου ἀκούσαντες Πυθανόθεν οὐκαδ' ἔνεικαν
μαντείας τε θειοῦ καὶ τελέεντ' ἔπεα·
ἄρχειν μὲν βουλῆς θεοτιμήτους βασιλῆας,
οἵσι μέλει Σπάρτης ἵμερόσσα πόλις,
5 πρεσβύτας τε γέροντας, ἔπειτα δὲ δημότας ἄνδρας,
εὐθείας δῆτραις ἀνταπαμειβομένους.

Probably they form part of Tyrtaeus' poem 'Eunomia' (Diehl³ 1949, fr. 3 b). A more extensive version of this passage is given by Diodorus and according to Diehl's text it runs as follows:

<'Ωδε> γάρ ἀργυρότοξος ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων
χρυσοκόδμης ἔχρη πίονος ἐξ ἀδύτου·

Then follow the verses 3-6 which are also given by Plutarch. Diodorus' fragment continues as follows:

μαθεῖσθαι τε τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἔρδειν πάντα δίκαια
μηδέ τι ἐπιβουλεύειν τῆδε πόλει,
δήμου δὲ πλήθει νίκην καὶ κάρτος ἔπεισθαι.
Φοίβος γάρ περὶ τῶν ὡδῶν ἀνέφηνε πόλει.

The text of verses 3 ff. differs in Diodorus and in Plutarch. Some discrepancies are negligible (in line 5 πρεσβυγενεῖς in Diod., and minor clerical errors like βουλῆς, l. 3, and ἐχερόεσσα, l. 4). Others have caused divergent interpretations of the text¹. Of the latter I mention

a πρεσβυγενεῖς δέ (Diod. line 5)
b μυθεῖσθαι δέ (Diod. line 7)

In case *a* Plutarch's text (cf. Andrewes, *art. cit.*, p. 97, note 5) is to be preferred because, in accordance with the rhetra and its rider, he closely connects the power of the kings and that of the γέροντες who together are the members of the gerousia.

In *b* the passage opening with ἐπειτα (line 5) lacks in Plutarch's fragment a main verb. The version of Diodorus solves the problem by μυθεῖσθαι τε τὰ καλὰ κτλ. This necessitates altering δέ in τε in line 7 of Diodorus' text. (Dindorf, Bergk, Wilamowitz, Diehl). In line 9 we find a third case where in Diodorus' text δέ and τε have changed places, this time the other way round. Here the people is indicated by δήμου πλῆθος. In this line the people have a positive task, a distinct contrast with the warning in line 8, whatever its right version may be. A change of the mss. τε to δέ is desirable (Krebs, Wilamowitz, Diehl). Although Hammond believes that 'the changes from δέ to τε and vice versa are not essential', they have nevertheless greatly influenced the interpretation of the text, as we shall see presently.

In line 6 (Diodorus) the traditional reading is εἰθεῖν
φῆτρας ἀνταπαμειβομένους. The most satisfactory emendation

¹ In fr. 3a to the report of Diodorus' readings should be added the data of Page, CR, LXV, 1951, 12. On the differences between fr. 3a and fr. 3b, cf. Andrewes, CQ, XXXII, 1938, 89–102, partic. pp. 95–100, Wade-Gery, CQ, XXXVIII, 1944, p. 2 ff., Hammond, *art. cit.*, p. 47 f. The otherwise useful thesis by H. Schläpfer, *Plutarch und die klassischen Dichter. Ein Beitrag zum klassischen Bildungsgut Plutarchs*, Zürich 1950, offers no comparison between Plutarch and Diodorus and therefore throws no light on our subject.

seems to be that of Page (CR, LXV, 1951, p. 12: εὐθεῖη: 'the adverb giving the right emphasis') which gives the following translation: 'giving the proper response to the rhetrai'¹.

As in the case of the δέ and τε alterations, Diodorus' version appears not to have been transmitted accurately.

Line 8 seems to be 'a condensation into prose of some lines succeeding line 6' (Andrewes). The manuscript reading μηδετι ἐπιβουλευειν offers undoubtedly a case of dittography. The only question is whether ετι or επι should be retained. A usual addition, in accordance with the rider to the rhetra, is:

μηδέ τι βουλεύειν τῆς πόλει <σκολιόν> (so e.g. Diehl)
or μηδ' ἔτι βουλεύειν τῆς πόλει <σκολιόν> (so e.g. Hammond).

But if discussion in the popular assembly is out of the question we cannot speak of βουλεύειν. If the foregoing interpretation of the rhetra and its supplement has been correct, in neither of the two was βουλεύειν a popular right. The rhetra restricts the political power of the commons to a pronouncement for or against. The rider virtually left only the right of assent, because saying 'no' lost its effect. The situation created by the rider, according to Plutarch, is reflected in Tyrtaeus' poem. If Plutarch's view is right, then Tyrtaeus makes the alteration acceptable by putting a veto on a par with an injury to the community: ἐπιβουλεύειν <τι κακόν>².

It is questionable whether it would be right to compress the fragmentary contents of line 8 into one line. With all due reserve I submit the following version:

μηδ' ἐπιβουλεύειν τῆς πόλει τι κακόν³.

¹ For a discussion of this text compared with Plutarch's reading εὐθεῖας δῆτραις ἀνταπαμειβομένους, cf. p. 188.

² Cf. L-S², s.v. ἐπιβουλεύειν.

³ The various objections should be carefully weighed. The existence of ἐπιβουλεύειν is only proved for the Vth century, and πι does not occur in Tyrtaeus' fragments. The objection to the reading βουλεύειν however, is in my opinion more serious: it conflicts with all historical evidence, as it gives to the commons a right which they in fact did not have.

The difference between the two versions also appears at the end and in the opening part¹. Diodorus' verses have in the margin ἡ Πυθία ἔχρηστ τῷ Λυκούργῳ περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν οὕτως. But on the basis of Plutarch's view the subject of ἔνεικαν can only be the two kings Polydorus and Theopompus². Plutarch's subject of ἔνεικαν may be replaced in various ways. First of all, Lycurgus and his friends. This implies that rhetra and rider are one piece and that Tyrtaeus' verses refer to the entire rhetra³. Secondly, the Heraclids. This makes Tyrtaeus' poem a royalist propaganda song in honour of the ancient legendary Heraclids, possibly including Lycurgus⁴.

Both solutions disqualify Plutarch⁵. Is this necessary? They have been partly refuted in the foregoing argument that rhetra and rider should be chronologically separated. With regard to Tyrtaeus' verses themselves the following remarks may be helpful.

We should allow for the possibility that the note in the margin – which may not have come from Diodorus at all, let alone from his source Ephorus – has been inserted by somebody who was in the habit of tracing everything relating to ancient Sparta to Lycurgus. The text of the opening lines of the poem in Diodorus' version does not exclude the possibility that here, too, the two kings Polydorus and Theopompus obtain the oracle, because it is not stated who did obtain the oracle.

¹ Cf. Wade-Gery, CQ, XXXVIII, 1944, p. 2 ff.

² Jacoby, *Atthis*, p. 264, note 168, takes πόθοι for subject, which makes no difference.

³ So Wade-Gery, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Andrewes, *loc. cit.* Cf. Xen. *Lac. Resp.* X, 8 and Ollier's commentary (*Xénophon, La République des Lacédémoniens*, Thèse complémentaire de Paris, 1934) *ad loc.*

⁵ Jacoby rightly remarks that the words ἡ Πυθία ἔχρηστ καθ. 'nicht nur unverbindlich aber falsch' (sind). (FGrHist, II, C, p. 85, 1-2). The reading of Plutarch should therefore not be objected to on the ground of this 'Randnotiz', as is done by Wade-Gery (CQ, XXXVIII, 1944, p. 3, note 1).

In my view, the part of the text occurring both in Plutarch and in Diodorus provides an unambiguous answer to these doubts: the poem refers to the situation after the addition of the rider by Polydorus and Theopompus. It says distinctly that ἄρχειν is the duty of the kings and of the council. In the original rhetra ἀνταγορία καὶ κράτος belong to the people, which means that there can be no government without the people's sanction and consequently by virtue of its κράτος the people also ἄρχειν, rule. Only after the addition of the rider have the people been eliminated and only then has ἄρχειν μὲν βουλῆς θεοτυμήτους βασιλῆας πρεσβυγενεῖς τε γέροντας become fully true¹. After δημόσιας ἀνδρας there should be no comma and μέν in the third and δέ in the fifth line of Tyrtaeus' poem should be kept well apart.

In Tyrtaeus' fragment the word rhetra might stand both for 'law' and for 'proposed law'. Both meanings occur, and it is uncertain which of the two is used here. If we take it in the meaning of 'law', then εὐθεῖας φήτραις ἀνταπαμειβομένους should be translated: 'replying (to the proposal submitted by the council) with rhetrai which are right', *i.e.* right in the eyes of the council and in agreement with its wishes. If, on the other hand, we follow Diodorus' text (in Page's text: εὐθεῖη φήτραις ἀνταπαμειβομένους), then φήτραι means the proposed law and εὐθεῖη again refers to the opinion of the gerousia on the attitude of the commons who respond to the proposal in the right manner (*i.e.* in accordance with the gerousia's wishes).

As after the addition of the rider a decision of the gerousia invariably became law we can understand that 'law' and 'proposed law' were no longer distinguished and both were indicated by φήτραι.

After ἀνταπαμειβομένους we expect an infinitive, although in Plutarch the fragment is clear enough. Diodorus' version gives three infinitives, the second verse being incomplete in the mss.

¹ Βουλή means 'deliberation' or better 'the decision to be taken'. The kings and the gerontes take precedence in the decisions.

I read the text as follows:

μυθεῖσθαι τε τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἔρδειν πάντα δίκαια
μηδ' ἐπιβουλεύειν τῇδε πόλει τι κακόν.

I believe Diehl's punctuation to be wrong: the comma at the end of the verse preceding these two lines should be omitted. The passage about the δημότας ἀνδρῶς in Diodorus' version should be taken as a whole and translated thus: 'But then the men of the people (i.e. the *damos*) by replying to the proposed laws that they are right, should say and do everything beautiful and good (Andrewes: 'speak fair and behave well', *art. cit.*, p. 99) and not undertake anything against the city'. If we now consider that δίκαιαν and καλὸν are not legal conceptions and that the Spartan government – first the gerousia and later the ephors – decided on what was good and proper, and finally, that according to Plut. *Lyc.* XIII the so-called minor rhetrai disallowed the writing down of laws, which was a serious handicap to legal security, then we understand how these verses in Diodorus reflected this political subordination of the *damos*. This subordination was not sanctioned till after the rider to the rhetra, because only then had ἀνταγορία become tantamount to saying 'yes' to everything submitted by the gerousia, *with no alternative but the complete elimination of the damos*. The *damos* may only say καλὸν καὶ δίκαιον, never αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἀδίκιον.

To my knowledge the question why Plutarch does not include the closing lines has never been raised. I believe the answer is that Plutarch remained true to his plan. In chapters V to VII his subject is the gerousia, his only concern being that the addition by Polydorus and Theopompus had increased the gerousia's power and that this is also evident in Tyrtaeus. The accompanying decline in the influence of the *damos* is sufficiently clear from εὐθεῖας βήτραις ἀνταπαιειθομένους, in which the emphasis is on εὐθεῖας. Evidently the power of the gerousia is stressed all the more, if the activities of the *damos* do not extend beyond providing applause. The manner in

which Plutarch's authority – probably Aristotle – chose his quotations from Tyrtaeus, shows his independence in using his sources.

The last two lines in Diodorus, – and particularly δῆμου δὲ πλῆθει νίκην καὶ κάρτος ἔπεισθαι which apparently contrast strongly with the preceding lines in that they seem to presuppose the sovereignty of the *damos* –, are usually regarded with misgivings¹. Still, I would maintain their authenticity because I do not think these words refer to the *political* influence of the people. I offer no opinion on the possibility that Diodorus took this line to refer to political power. I believe that Aristotle and Plutarch omitted it for two reasons. The first I have already mentioned: it deals with the *damos* and not with the gerousia. The second reason is that the words do not contain a political stipulation but a military one, and there is no doubt that Tyrtaeus in this line intended to refer to the people's military power. When speaking of the political significance of the *damos* he calls the members δημότας ἀνδρας, but when dealing with the military power he uses the term δῆμου πλῆθος, *i.e.* the mass of the people. It is the numerical strength that counts. The word νίκη, too, indicates military power. The translation then should be: 'For the mass of the people (*i.e.* the army) victory and power go together'. In close relation with the foregoing the meaning may be interpreted to be: ('the people should agree with its leaders) for then military supremacy is certain'. If we connect the final word of the original rhetra κάρτος and Tyrtaeus' word κάρτος, we are led astray by the conformity. The first word – provided the reading δύταγοπλαν is correct – has a political connotation, the latter has not. The text of the rhetra

¹ So Ehrenberg up to one of his most recent publications, *Origins of democracy*, Historia, I, (1950, publ. 1952) p. 515 ff., partic. p. 517, note 4. Both his bracketing of this line ('the line cannot be genuine') and his view that the line refers to the rhetra are in my opinion unjustified.

(VI, 2) should be kept apart from Tyrtaeus¹. The part in Tyrtaeus that had a direct relation to the political situation was used by Plutarch as an illustration of conditions prevailing after the addition of the rider (VI, 8). Unlike Aristotle and Plutarch, Ephorus and Diodorus did not realize the ambiguous character of Tyrtaeus' 'Eunomia' in which political and military elements are interwoven (*e.g.* fragm. 4, 6-9 and fragm. 5), and regarded the entire fragment as having a political character. After Ephorus had made this mistake a next step linked the poem with the original rhetra. This caused Tyrtaeus' statements to be attributed to Lycurgus, and led to the insertion of two different opening lines with the object of discarding ἐνεικαν.

Modern historians, though preferring Plutarch's quotation from Tyrtaeus to that by Diodorus, have wished to retain the relation between Lycurgus' rhetra and the poem. This led them to take Lycurgus and his friends as the subject of ἐνεικαν, or they transferred the situation referred to in the poem to a remote past by taking the Heraclids for subject, or again they combined both expedients by assuming that Tyrtaeus had already classed Lycurgus among the Heraclids. All these artifices bring needless discredit on Plutarch. He mentions Polydorus and Theopomus, two generations after Lycurgus and two before Tyrtaeus, as the originators of the rider. Tyrtaeus during the second Messenian war (*c.* 650) found Sparta's situation just as precarious as under these kings. He wished to demonstrate to the people by a fairly recent illustration the central importance of the political power of kings and gerontes. At the same time, however, in order to stimulate patriotic feeling, he stresses the military indispensability of the people: δῆμου δὲ πλήθει νίκην καὶ κάρτος ἐπεσθαι.

¹ Berve, *Gnomon*, XVII, 1941, p. 5, advocated this separation on good grounds. Adding the word σκολάν to line 8 seems far from safe, and it is risky to defend it by referring to the rhetra's supplementary clause.

Andrewes¹ worked out a contrast, *viz.* that 'in the rhetra we hear of the kings only as members of the council (τριάκοντα γερουσίαν σὺν ἀρχαγέταις καταστήσαντα) and in the rider they are still placed after the council. In the poem they take first place and are given a couplet to themselves . . . , while the council is barely mentioned'. The contrast is understandable. Tyrtaeus' poem reflects the activities of the two kings responsible for the alteration. The additional clause was intended to eliminate the people and to consolidate the gerousia's power, not to strengthen the constitutional position of the kings (which was already gaining influence since the kings were counted with the gerontes). If the two kings had aimed at a dominant royal power they would have had to face opposition not only from the *damos* but also from their fellow-gerontes. This twofold opposition might have become dangerous. The supplementary clause is therefore quite in keeping with the wishes of the gerousia. Yet Tyrtaeus' poem is not an official document but a glorification of the kings, and this is one of the reasons why rhetra and rider should be kept distinct from the poem.

The authenticity of Tyrtaeus' poem has been questioned on the ground that the name for Spartan kings is ἀρχαγέταις, whilst the poem uses the word βασιλεῖς². Admittedly, Tyrtaeus writes for a Spartan public and hence he ought to use an intelligible phraseology; however he is not writing a legal paragraph restricted to official verbiage but an unofficial poem. He uses, moreover, a non-Spartan genre, the elegy, and in other respects, too, his language has departed from the Dorian dialect. I believe therefore that linguistic

¹ Andrewes, *art. cit.*, p. 97.

² Kahrstedt, *op. cit.*, I, p. 127, note 3. His argument is less convincing than that of Wade-Gery, who prefers Diodorus' πρεσβυγενεῖς, to Plutarch's πρεσβύτας on the ground of Plutarch (789 E): διὸ τὴν μὲν ἐν Λακεδαιμονίῳ παραξευχθείσαν ἀριστοκρατίαν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι δι Πύθιος πρεσβυγενέας, δι δὲ Λυκοῦργος ἀντικρύς γέροντας ἀνόμασεν.

Cf. Hammond, *art. cit.*, p. 48, note 33, who follows Wade-Gery.

objections are not vital. For that matter, how much do we know about the terminology current in Sparta and the influence there of the Ionian language?

The rider, so we conclude, originated in turbulent times and was intended to curtail the few popular rights in the rhetra. It came about in a period of military urgency which reduced civic rights and exalted the military significance of the masses. Tyrtaeus stresses both the one and the other. Plutarch and his source, probably Aristotle, compelled by their subject, restricted themselves to recording only the former item. But it was probably Ephorus, Diodorus' forerunner, who at an early date invested the whole of Tyrtaeus' fragment with a political character, and in so doing he fell a victim to the universal tendency of attributing everything to Lycurgus. This led to a search for a connection between Tyrtaeus and the rhetra in VI, 2, and to an alteration in the opening lines. The terms *κράτος* (rhetra) and *κάρτος* (Tyrtaeus) helped to make this possible.

§ 7. FINAL REMARKS

1. The foregoing has, I trust, demonstrated that Plutarch selects his material for these thorny problems with great care. There is nothing to hinder us – the reverse is rather the case – from assuming that he quotes Aristotle at first hand. An opposite view is shown by the conjectures suggested by a passage in the rhetra we have not yet discussed. The rhetra decrees that the popular assembly shall meet *μεταξύ Βαβύλωνος τε καὶ Κνακιῶνος*. According to Aristotle the first proper name is that of a bridge, the last that of a river. Possibly other sources, contemporaries of Plutarch (*vūv*), thought of two rivers, and this suggested to Sintenis the reading *τὴν δὲ Βαβύλωνα Χείμαρρος καὶ τὸν Κνακιῶνα* *vūv* *Ολούντα*. There is also Wade-Gery's supposition that Babyka-and-Knakion together were identified as the river Oinous. In that case there is no lacuna in *Lyc.* VI, 4, and the words can be read

consecutively: τὴν δὲ Βαθύκαν καὶ τὸν Κνακιῶνα νῦν Ολοῦντα. Be that as it may, it is certain that Plutarch offers another view, apart from Aristotle's opinion, concerning these proper names¹. Kessler, the mouthpiece of hypercriticism, sees fit to conclude from this that Plutarch does not quote Aristotle at first hand. He believes that Plutarch's source (an undefined X) gave an additional explanation besides that of Aristotle and that Plutarch copied both the first and the last explanations from X. As though the word νῦν did not unmistakably point to Plutarch's own time! Kessler's dogma seems to be this: Plutarch is not to be allowed to have made personal researches, he borrows all his data from *anonymi* who did the work. This seems to me a fatal theory. I believe I have made it clear that in this passage of *Lyc.* VI Plutarch has shown sound and careful judgment, and so we may credit him with the ability to compare a name found in Aristotle with a contemporary designation.

2. With regard to the dating it has yet recently been suggested by Stubbs that 'the constitutional settlement defining the functions of the Crown, the Senate and the Assembly is now generally admitted to have taken place about 600 B.C.'² In spite of my admiration for Stubbs' article I cannot share this *communis opinio*, and in this I find Roos³ and Miss Chrimes on my side. The importance of Miss Chrimes' book lies particularly in her opposition to this ill-founded *communis*

¹ Miss Chrimes' ingenious explanation (*op. cit.*, p. 485): 'between the place of the pelicans and the place of the wild goats' might have won praise from Aristotle, even if it had not convinced him. It may be possible to identify Κνακιῶν with a 'wild goat', but as a landmark it seems inconveniently vague, as Woodward (*Historia*, I, 1950, p. 633) rightly remarks. Woodward's own suggestion seems very plausible: 'Could it not refer to the region in which lay the Sanctuary of Artemis Knagia (*Paus.* III, 18, 4), for which the area N.-W. of the Acropolis is a possible site?'.

² Stubbs, *Spartan Austerity: A possible explanation*, *CQ*, XLIV, 1950, p. 32-37.

³ See p. 154, note 1.

*opinio*¹. Aristotle's dating of Lycurgus and of the rhetra has not been upset by modern theories. The best authority on the subject is still Toepffer in 'Beiträge zur griechischen Altertumswissenschaft', Berlin 1897, part. p. 349 ff. If there were truth in Beloch's words: 'Der Philologe glaubt was in den Quellen steht, bis ihm bewiesen wird, dass es falsch ist; der Historiker glaubt es nur, wenn ihm bewiesen wird, dass es richtig ist'², the historian's bounden duty would be to go over to philology, with which, for that matter, he has long had the most pleasant relations. Neither the modern studies of the literary material nor the results of archaeological research have been able to reveal a political, military, cultural or economic revolution round about the year 600 B.C. or shortly after. This being the case, the historian has to accept the data handed down by Aristotle and Plutarch unless he chooses to endorse Beloch's ominous distinction between philological and historical evidence.

3. On VI as a whole I offer the following final observations.

Part of the heritage of Indo-European prehistory is the sovereignty of the people in the sense of fighting men, whose *κράτος* is decisive. If we study not the Dorians but the other Greek groups whose immigration preceded that of the Dorians, we find that these Achaeans and Ionians, or any other names they may possess, have long passed the stage of sovereignty of the people. Nobles and kings have come to replace it and the old conditions have left no traces. This makes it necessary for us to assume them from what we find elsewhere. If this analogy is correct, then, after the period of sovereignty of the people, king and council become the principal elements of political life. From this, through the work of law-givers and sometimes through periods of tyranny, a similar evolution takes place in all the states, an evolution which proceeds furthest in Athens. This evolution has made us grow ac-

¹ Cf. p. 93, note 1.

² Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², I, 2, p. 15.

customed to the skeleton sketch of Greek constitutional history: kingship – aristocracy – timocracy – democracy, and Sparta is then supposed to have remained in the transition from kingship to aristocracy. The sketch is useful but it has its drawbacks, because it is liable to conceal the fact that in Sparta, which originated from the last great migration, there is, according to Plut. *Lyc.* VI, an evolution which in the case of the other tribes cannot be traced in historic times but is to be assumed as having taken place in prehistory, *viz.* a transition from the authority of the assembled fighting men to that of the gerousia and the kings. Viewed from the modern democratic angle this transition is to be regarded as a regression. As it was assumed, from the same angle, that the Greek world knew only progress or ossification and that evolution followed the pattern outlined above, this old stage in Spartan constitutional history revealed in Plut. *Lyc.* VI has been wrongly interpreted by modern scholars. The legal construction of the people's position in the *rhetra* (VI, 2) and its reaction which brought all power to the council and the kings (VI 8, the rider) have been combined and regarded as one and the same act of legislation. I hope to have succeeded in demonstrating the error of this view and the dependability of Plutarch's survey of the constitutional development.

CHAPTER II

THE EPHORATE

For a proper understanding of *Lyc.* VII we need first to take stock of the information regarding the ephorate available to antiquity¹. This was very limited, just as with modern historians², both as regards the time of its institution and the meaning of the office. Lycurgus, Theopompus and Chilon are mentioned as founders.

Herodotus says that Lycurgus τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ γέροντας ἔστησε (I 65). Isocrates' views on the subject are nowhere made clear³. Nor is Xenophon (*Lac. Resp.* VIII, 3) particularly lucid, when he says: εἰχός δὲ καὶ τὴν τῆς ἐφορείας δύναμιν τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους (i.e. Lycurgus' assistants) συγχατασκευάσαι. The question however whether εἰχός refers to the institution of the ephorate by Lycurgus or to the co-operation of the others is of importance⁴. The translation could be: 'Probably the ephorate

¹ A summary of the ancient sources in Kessler, *op. cit.*, p. 35 ff. On the list of ephors and its meaning for chronology cf. p. 82.

² Modern views discussed by Witkowski, in *Der Ursprung des Ephorats*, (La Pologne au VIIe congrès intern. des sciences historiques 1933, vol 1, p. 19 ff.) and by the same author in *Die spartanische Heeresgliederung und der Ursprung des Ephorats*, (Eos, XXXV, 1934, p. 73 ff.). Cf. W. Jaeger, *Paideia*, I, p. 82 (Eng. ed.) and p. 437, note 18; Ollier, *Le mirage spartiate*, I, p. 105; Ehrenberg, *Aspects of the ancient world*, p. 97. Cf. P-W, s.v. Thcopompos (3) and *Neugründner des Staates*, favourably commented on by Jacoby in *Atthis*, p. 305, note 24 and p. 353, note 3. A different view is held by Berve in his review of *Neugründner des Staates*, in *Gnomon*, I, 1925, p. 305 ff. and in his study *Sparta* in *Hist. Vierteljahrsschrift*, XXV, 1931, p. 1 ff.

³ Cf. Kessler, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

⁴ E. Meyer, in *Forsch.*, I, p. 248, offers the following translation: 'Est ist wahrscheinlich (oder begreiflich) dass Lykurg und seine Genossen die Ephorenmacht begründet haben'. This translation leaves the Lycurgean origin uncertain. Ollier, *Xénophon, La répu-*

also was instituted with their help' – which leaves undecided whether the office was actually instituted under Lycurgus – or: 'Probably the same persons assisted in instituting the ephorate'. When the sentence is taken in its context we are inclined to prefer the former translation. Xenophon says in this chapter that in his opinion the κράτιστοι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει had been won over to Lycurgus' plans. If these plans had also included the ephorate, there was no need for Xenophon to make special mention in εἰκός κτλ. of one of these plans, the institution of the ephorate. Yet he does so. Why? The only possibilities, in my view, are either because the ephorate was *not* included in Lycurgus' scheme, or because Xenophon doubted the Lycurgean origin of this office. But of late the 'journalistic' character of this work of Xenophon has rightly been pointed out¹, and so we should perhaps not make so much of the context as was done above. Our conclusion then should be that Xenophon may have attributed the ephorate to Lycurgus, although for the reason stated I am inclined to believe that he did not do so.

Ephorus (Strabo X, 4, 18, C. 481, 482, Jacoby, FGrHist, 70, fragm. 149, vol. II A p. 86) makes an indirect reference to the institution of the ephorate by Lycurgus, who is said to have borrowed his laws from Crete. He goes on to enumerate the points of resemblance between the Spartan and Cretan laws and continues: τούς ἐφόρους δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἐν Κρήτῃ κέρμασις διοικοῦντας ἐπέρως ὀνομάσθαι.

In Diogenes Laertius Satyrus says in so many words that the ephorate was originated by Lycurgus, whereas Sosocrates calls Chilon the founder².

blique des Lacédémoniens, p. 46, makes εἰκός refer to the assistance of others in this office whose institution by Lycurgus is certain on account of Xenophon.

¹ Ollier in *op. cit.* Miss Chrimes' arguments in support of her theory that Xenophon is not the author are unconvincing (in her book *The Respubblica Lacedaemoniorum ascribed to Xenophon*).

² Diog. Laert. I, 68, the dating for the institution of the ephorate

It is uncertain whether Plato (*Leg. 692 A*) dates the origin of the ephorate to the reign of Theopompus. Plutarch only quotes Plato to show that the latter called the ephorate a check to oligarchy. The name Theopompus is not mentioned by Plato, who speaks of τρίτος σωτήρ¹. Plato's clear statement in *Epist. VIII, 354 B* Λυκοῦργος.... ἐπήνεγκε.... τὸν τῶν ἑφόρων δέσμον τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς σωτήριον² does not conflict with *Leg. 692 A*³.

given by Wells, Ehrenberg, and now evidently also by Jacoby, but regarded as a misunderstanding on the part of Sosicrates by Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, I, p. 556. 2 and Hammond, *JHS*, LXX, 1950, p. 61, note 116.

¹ 'Ο δὲ τρίτος σωτήρ (*Leges 692 A*) is mostly taken to refer to Theopompus (so Jacoby, *Apollodorus Chronik*, p. 140) but this is far from certain. G. F. Novotný, *Platonis epistulae*, Brno, 1930, p. 260: 'At mea quidem sententia minime pro certo haberi potest Legum loco Theopompum significari; quac Atheniensis ibi hospes de Lacedaemoniorum re publica exponit, ad mythum quendam confirmata sunt ita ut tertius ille salvator (δὲ τρίτος σωτήρ) non de homine quodam sed de tertio deorum numine atque auxilio dici videantur; profecto 692 B omnia illa, quae ad salvandam rem publicam valuerunt, hoc comprehenduntur enuntiato: νῦν δέ οὐδὲ εἶται οὐδὲ τὴν μενοῦσαν μάλιστα ἀρχὴν γίγνεσθαι. Evidem puto tertiam illam salvatoris appellationem quodam modo pertinere ad usitatum illud proverbium τὸ τρίτον τῷ σωτῆρι' (*Epist. VII, 334 D*).

² Even if we found in Plato two different theories on the ephorate, this would have no historical value. Cf. H. Raeder, *Über die Echtheit der platonischen Briefe*, RM, LXI, 1906, p. 528. Plato in this letter was not concerned with a scientific problem. (Questioning the authenticity of the letter only shifts the difficulty. The forger must have had the passage from the *Leges* before him and used it for his purpose). Both passages are rhetorical, not historical. Cf. J. Harward, *The Platonic epistles*, Cambridge 1932, p. 223-224. Jacoby in *Apollodorus Chronik*, p. 142 wrongly contrasts 'ps. Plato' (*Ep. VIII*) with Plato (*Leges 692 A*). On the authenticity of the Letters VII and VIII, see G. Pasquali, *Le Lettere di Platone*, 1938.

³ Kessler, following the example of Neumann, has attempted to stamp as unworthy of belief the tradition crediting Theopompus with the institution of the ephorate. According to Neumann, later chronologists, starting from the list of ephors, asked themselves

In opposition to these data we find a very respectable tradition according to which it was Theopompus who founded the ephorate. Aristotle, whom Plutarch, as we saw, follows very closely in the Life of Lycurgus, explicitly opposes those who attribute the entire Spartan constitution to Lycurgus: τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείαν τινες Λυκούργῳ προσάπτουσι πᾶσαν (FHG II p. 210, a passage from Heraclides Lembos which is based on Aristotle, cf. Pauly-Wissowa VIII, col. 490). On account of these words I believe that Aristotle regards the ephorate, not mentioned by him in the Lycurgean *rhetra*, as a later institution founded in the time of Theopompus. This conclusion is supported by *Pol.* V, 11, 1313 a 25 where ἐπικαθίστανται should be rendered by 'institute besides' ¹.

We cannot say which of these two ancient opinions was the earlier. Most of the modern scholars say it was the Lycurgean. Their designation of Lycurgus as the originator of the office is explained by the typically Greek desire to find an 'originator'. Subsequently they attempt to expose the Theopompus tradition as a piece of genealogical systematization. In this way the entire tradition of the sources is nullified, resulting in a modern *non liquet*. Not content with this, these scholars launched a new theory that adds to the three familiar theories of the origin of the ephorate – Lycurgus, Chilon and

which king could have been contemporary with the first ephors of the list. Basing their reconstruction on the existing kings' list and counting three generations to the century, they concluded that Theopompus was the man. — The theory is quite subjective and, in my opinion, it lacks any foundation. For the date of Theopompus see p. 65 ff.

¹ I agree with Hammond's view (*art. cit.*, p. 56, note 66) that *Pol.* 1313 a 25 'does not state that the office of ephor was instituted by Theopompus'. If we had only this statement from Aristotle there would indeed be room for doubt, but Heracl. fr. 2,1 points the way in which the passage from the *Politics* should be interpreted. Moreover, Plut. *Lyc.* VII, as we shall see presently, goes back to Aristotle. It, too, asserts that the office was instituted by Theopompus.

Theopomitus – a fourth: the ephors, like the council, were in existence long before; they are, in fact, as ancient as the Spartan state itself¹.

On the strength of this conjecture the historical evolution is sketched in two entirely different ways:

a in Theopomitus' time, on account of the king being with the army in the field, certain civil powers were transferred to the ephors (who existed already). Witkowski bases this theory on the name ἔφορος, meaning the officer who has the supervision of the citizens, the helots and the perioikoi. Even in the fifth century B.C. the ephors accompanied the army in order to see that the citizens in the camp behaved themselves when the king made a sacrifice (Xen. *Lac. Resp.* XIII, 5: πάρεισι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἔφερων δύο, οἱ πολυπραγμοῦσι μὲν οὐδέν, ἵν μὴ δὲ βασιλεὺς προσκαλεῖ· ὅρῶντες δὲ δὲ τι ποιεῖ ἔκαστος πάντας σωφρονίζουσιν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός).

b ephors are the ancient κήρυκες, executors of the king's commands in epic times, who gradually usurp his powers and supersede the kingship. On this theory, too, the ephors are very ancient, almost as ancient as the kingship². Only in Theopomitus' time were they invested with certain minor powers; this was a temporary period of decline of the ephorate. Possibly a king like Theopomitus, who had been a successful commander, was for the time being able to curtail the power of the ephors.

¹ K. O. Müller, *Die Dorier*, II², p. 107. Ed. Meyer, *Forsch.*, I, p. 248. Glotz, *Histoire grecque*, I, p. 365. Wade-Gery, *CAH*, III, p. 561. Berve, *Griechische Geschichte*, I, p. 75. Witkowski, *La Pologne etc.* (see p. 197, note 2), p. 19. Also, though with more caution, Woodward, *OCD*, s.v. Ephors. Hellanicus mentioned Eurysthenes and Procles as the law-givers of Sparta (FGrHist., 4, fr. 116), but his statement is not germane to the present discussion, as we do not know what he said about Lycurgus.

² So Miss Chrimes in *Ancient Sparta*, p. 402 ff. True, from my interpretation given on p. 80 it also follows that under Theopomitus the power of the ephors was small but only so as compared with later periods, not with a merely conjectural ancient ephorate.

Against these conjectures of an archaic ephorate this conclusive objection may be offered. The rhetra, which we regard as an authentic VIIIth century document, mentions all the offices of state but is silent on the subject of the ephorate. It is said that 'because the ephors had no constitutional standing they could not be mentioned in the rhetra', and again 'because the ephors are not mentioned in the rhetra they had no constitutional standing'. These arguments are far from convincing, neither do they support each other. The case is wrongly put, and a *petitio principii* is the only result if the absence of the ephors in the rhetra is said to prove that we are dealing with an ancient office of assistants to the king. If the ephors really occupied the important post mentioned under *b*, no less than if their task had been a more humble one as described under *a*, the rhetra could not have failed to mention them¹. Against *a* we may also advance that the name does not reveal anything about the pre-Lycurgean origin, and against *b* that Plutarch in VII, 2 tells us that Theopompus' wife blamed him for ἐλάττω παραδώσοντα τοῖς παισὶ τὴν βασιλείαν η̄ παρέλαβε. There is no reason why we should reject this story. In these matters where our data are so scarce, we are not justified in distrusting our historian

¹ Cf. Busolt, *Griechische Staatshunde*², I, p. 45: 'Wenn sie zunächst wesentlich Aufseher waren und noch keinen Anteil an der Regierungsgewalt und Legislative besasssen, so fielen sie gar nicht in den Rahmen der Rhetra'. The argument would be valid if the sources offered some support for the view that the ephors in the beginning had no delegated 'Regierungsgewalt': but such is not the case. Hammond, too, is of the opinion that the ephorate is an ancient institution, older than Theopompus' ephors (*art. cit.*, p. 61). To the question why they are not mentioned in the rhetra his answer is: 'The rhetra is the record of an enactment of the late ninth century, hence the omission of the ephors (who became eponymous magistrates only later in 757 B.C.)'. The kings and gerontes were not eponymous magistrates either and yet they appear in the rhetra. The fact that in 757 (or rather 754, cf. Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik*, p. 138) the ephors became eponymous magistrates does not justify the assumption that they existed before that date.

just for the sake of a theoretical possibility – ephors as ancient as Sparta itself – which finds no support in our sources. Our conclusion, then, should be that there is no evidence to disprove the view, implied in Plutarch, that the institution of the ephorate coincides with the introduction of the list of ephors.

To the question for what purpose the ephorate was instituted the answers vary just as widely. Some assert ¹, as we saw, that the object was to watch over citizens, *perioikoi* and helots. Later this is supposed to have led to legal powers. Others hold these legal powers to have been the original ones ², and others again regard the five ephors as priests of the obes or villages whose original number is also assumed to have been five ³. Kahrstedt calls them representatives of the kings in war-time, when both kings were in the field ⁴, Wade-Gery on the other hand holds them to be representatives of the people ⁵, whilst Berve considers them as bearers of the sovereignty and priests ⁶. Our preliminary conclusion is that antiquity did not know why and when the ephorate was instituted.

Let us first consider the data given by Plutarch. Cleomenes III refers to the ephorate in a passage the details of which are also to be found in the Life of Lycurgus (Plut. *Cleom.* X). In view of Miss Chrimes' arbitrary interpretation of this passage ⁷, we shall do well to establish the following conclusions.

1. Cleomenes says that the ephorate originated during the Messenian wars. Asteropus later extended the office.

2. Cleomenes himself abolished the ephorate, as appears from X, 6: μετριάζοντας μὲν οὖν αὐτούς, ἔφη, κρείττον ήν ὑπομένειν, ἔξουσίας δὲ ἐπιθέτω τὴν πάτριον καταλύοντας ἀρχήν, δώστε τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς μὲν ἔξελαύνειν τοὺς δὲ ἀποκτιννύειν ἀκρίτους,

¹ Witkowski, in *Eos*, XXXV, 1934, p. 77.

² Ed. Meyer, *Forsch.*, p. 252.

³ Wilcken, *Griechische Geschichte*⁷, p. 111, 114.

⁴ Kahrstedt, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237.

⁵ Wade-Gery, *CAH*, III, p. 561.

⁶ Berve, *Griechische Geschichte*, I, 1931, p. 75.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 20, 402 ff.

ἀπειλεῖν δὲ τοῖς ποθοῦσιν αὐθις ἐπιδεῖν τὴν καλλιστὴν καὶ θειοτάτην ἐν Σπάρτῃ κατάστασιν, οὐκ ἀνέκτον. It is also manifested by Cleomenes' symbolic act of removing the ephors' seats from the assembly, except one, on which he set down himself.

The second conclusion partly falls outside our subject, but it deserves mention because Miss Chrimes, who argues that the Spartan constitution remained the same till the time of the Roman emperors, has no use for the abolition of the ephorate under Cleomenes III, as this conflicts with the (assumed) continuity in the constitutional field. I believe the words quoted from *Cleom.* X, 6 prove that he did set the ephorate aside. A further proof lies in Cleomenes' appeal to Lycurgus in the same passage (X, 2): ἔφη γὰρ ὅπο τοῦ Λυκούργου τοῖς βασιλεῦσι συμμετιχθῆναι τοὺς γέροντας, καὶ πολὺν χρόνον οὕτω διοικεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲν ἔτερας ἀρχῆς θεομένην.

Cleomenes says when the ephorate was introduced: ὅστερον δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους πολέμου μακροῦ γενομένου, τοὺς βασιλεῖς διὰ τὰς στρατείας ἀσχόλους δύντας αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸ κρίνειν αἰρεῖσθαι τινας ἐκ τῶν φίλων καὶ ἀπολεῖπεν τοῖς πολίταις ἀνθ' ἔσυτῶν, ἐφόρους προσαγορευθέντας (X, 3). The reference is apparently to the first Messenian war under Polydorus and Theopompus.

If this be true, in this passage the ephorate is dated *after* the beginning of the war. This seems a great obstacle to the harmonizing of these words with the traditional dates of the ephorate (754 B.C.) and of the first Messenian war, which begins nearly twenty years later (736 B.C.). We have to remember, however, that nothing compels us to believe that Sparta conquered Messenia only in the course of *two* wars (cf. p. 79). It is quite possible that in 754 the Spartans and the Messenians were already waging war, a war which was an episode in the long struggle between these two peoples; hence τοῦ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους πολέμου μακροῦ γενομένου, words which do not contain a strictly chronological indication.

Cleomenes further tells us that the ephorate was *first* strengthened by the activities of the ephor Asteropus (X, 5): καὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἐπισφοδρύναντα τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀνατεινά-

μενον Ἀστερωπὸν ἡλικίαις ὑστερον πολλαῖς ἔφορον γενέσθαι. The time indication for Asteropus is very hazy. Poralla gives: 'Ephor um 600' (cf. Niese in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.), but does not state his grounds. The statement that Asteropus was the *first* to consolidate the ephorate in any case points to an extension of the ephors' powers in later times. The developments after Asteropus may have been, partly or entirely, the work of Chilon, to whom Sosicrates erroneously attributed the introduction of the ephorate. In my view Plutarch in *Lyc.* VII gives a version of the origin of the ephorate which fully agrees with *Cleom.* X.

The opening part of *Lyc.* VII is quite in keeping with Hellenistic speculations on the political balance of power. Plutarch notes that Lycurgus' policy failed.

The word οὗτως links the beginning of this chapter with the closing part of VI, 6. Plutarch there broke off his commentary on Lycurgus' constitution and, by means of οὗτοι μέντοι, he introduced the history of the rhetra's supplementary clause. In VII he resumes his discourse with οὗτως τὸ πολίτευμα τοῦ Λυκούργου μεῖξαντος. We are therefore not justified in regarding the beginning of VII as evidence that, from this point onwards, Plutarch is using a second source – this source unexpectedly attributing to Lycurgus the amendment to the rhetra for which, according to VI, Polydorus and Theopomitus are responsible. If such were the case. Plutarch would, as it seems, have forgotten in VII what he had written in VI, and have copied his sources carelessly and slavishly. But he may surely expect us to credit him with common sense. The close linking of material¹ may, in this case as elsewhere, be due to the author's method of composition; what is merely artistic form should not be explained as providing a historical connection. The excursus beginning with VI, 7 is interrupted for

¹ We should not forget that antiquity knew no foot-notes, nor the custom of placing an excursus in an appendix. We touch here upon the great change caused by the invention of the art of printing.

a while in VII, 1, but as the treatment of his subject, the gerousia, has not been completed the excursus is continued till the end of VII, 5, ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑστερον, words which clearly refer to the beginning of the excursus in VI, 7.

Plutarch relates how the oligarchical element (*i.e.* the gerousia) became ἀκρατος. This is easily understood, as the addition to the rhetra had done away with even the semblance of popular influence. Now, according to Plutarch, the ephors were used to check the dominating influence of the gerousia. Plutarch's wording of his political action presents a great difficulty. The usual version is οἷον φάλιον ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτῇ (sc. τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ) τὴν τῶν ἐφόρων δύναμιν, ἔτεσί που μάλιστα τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μετὰ Λυκοῦργον πρώτων τῶν περὶ Ἐλατού ἐφόρων κατασταθέντων ἐπὶ Θεοπόμπου βασιλεύοντος.

Plutarch says that the first ephors, Elatus and his associates, were appointed during Theopompus' reign. If this king, however, lived 130 years after Lycurgus, there is little left of the chronology we have hitherto thought to find in Plutarch, and it is very tempting to believe that here another source has been used, completely different from Aristotle¹. But a minor alteration in the current punctuation is sufficient to reconcile Plutarch's words with Aristotle's chronology. My suggestion – as we have seen² – is to link ἔτεσί . . . ἑκατόν with the preceding part, to omit the comma after δύναμιν, and to place a comma after Λυκοῦργον. This gives the following translation: 'Lycurgus' successors about 130 years after him, when they observed the proud bearing of the oligarchy, placed on it the check of the power of the ephors. – Elatus and his colleagues had been the first ephors, in the reign of Theopompus –'. From *Cleomenes X* it appears that the strengthening of the ephorate was the work of Asteropus, who should

¹ Jacoby's assertion is wrong that: 'Der chronologische kern dieser stelle ist Apollodoris', (*Apollodors Chronik*, p. 138). Just as in the entire *Vita Lycurgi*, Plutarch here follows Aristotle's chronology (cf. p. 127 ff.).

² See p. 79 f.

thus be dated *ca* 650 during the second Messenian war, *i.e.* *ca* 130 years after Lycurgus according to the Aristotelian dating.

Plutarch's view on the origin of the ephorate, then, fully agrees with Aristotle who, as we may assume, also calls Theopompus the founder. According to this Aristotle-Plutarch tradition the ephorate originated in the middle of the VIIIth century under Theopompus and towards the middle of the VIIth century was extended with the object of checking the gerousia. The statement that the ephorate was strengthened under the ephor Asteropus (*Cleom.* X) should in my opinion be interpreted as follows: at this juncture the ephorate changed its nature. Previously its object had been to assist the king, afterwards it aimed at giving protection against the gerousia's pretensions. (It will appear presently that in practice this was not the case.) Chapter VII then fully agrees with the tradition of the chapters V and VI: the gerousia is the main point at issue. The discussion of this political body ends with VII. The excursus dealing with the gerousia's history after Lycurgus is heralded in VI, 7 with *δοτερον* and in VII, 5 finishes with the same word. The word *ταῦτα* at the end refers both to Theopompus' rider and to the history of the ephorate, *i.e.* to the entire excursus from VI, 7 to VII, 5.

Some have undoubtedly regarded the lightening of the king's duties introduced by Theopompus as an ignominious curtailment of the royal power. The king's wife gives expression to this view (VII, 2, cf. *Mor.* 779 E). But Plutarch approves of the king's attitude: it prevented the king from falling a prey to the φθόνος (of the gerousia), and so he escaped the danger which had proved fatal to the kings of the Messenians and the Argives. The parallel is not altogether valid, for these kings were not prepared to curtail their powers on behalf of the people (*μηδὲν ἐνδοῦνται μηδὲ χαλάσσου τῆς ἔξουσίας ἐπὶ τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐθελήσαντας*).

Theopompus' introduction of the ephorate does not imply his submission to the demands of the *people*, for that would have been inconsistent with his own amendment to the

rhetra, which eliminated popular influence. Plutarch however mentions Theopompus' ephors (the king's assistants) and later ephors (who had to keep a check on the aristocratic gerousia and to protect the people) in one sentence, because in both cases a transfer of powers was involved, first from the king to the ephors, subsequently, 130 years after Lycurgus, (ca 650 B.C.), from the council to the ephors. The example of the Messenians and Argives illustrates how matters went wrong if such a transfer of powers did not take place. But in the context the illustration is not well-chosen because it mentions $\chi\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\tau\tau\eta\zeta\dot{\epsilon}\kappa\sigma\sigma\alpha\zeta\dot{\epsilon}\pi\dot{\epsilon}\tau\dot{\epsilon}\delta\eta\mu\sigma\tau\tau\chi\delta\eta$, whereas Theopompus makes the transfer to ephors. Does this line of thought indicate inadequate historical discernment on the part of Plutarch? I do not think so. The quarrels among the Messenians and the Argives, and the stubbornness with which the people were kept in bondage, are a striking illustration of Lycurgus' wisdom which had allotted to kings and assembly their place beside the gerousia. Plutarch puts Lycurgus above Theopompus, because the former kept kings, council and people well-balanced, whereas Theopompus only managed to avoid φθόνος and personal danger. The new powers of the ephorate, 130 years later, bring once more an equilibrium; but the ideal balance which in Plutarch's eyes Lycurgus had introduced, this θεῖον εὐτύχημα, no longer exists.

The above interpretation of this chapter disposes of Kessler's difficulty: 'Schwer verständlich scheint es jedoch in der plutarchischen Darstellung, dass der Erzähler das Lob für die Folgen der Institution der Ephoren anstatt auf den von ihm als Urheber anerkannten Theopompos auf Lykurgos häuft'¹. First of all, the institution of the ephors is not commended and, secondly, Lycurgus is praised, not in connection with this institution, but for his composite kind of government: θεῖον ήν ὡς ἀληθῶς εὐτύχημα τοῖς Σπαρτιέταις δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν ἀρμοσάμενος καὶ κεράσας παρ' αὐτοῖς.

Plutarch therefore speaks of τὴν Λυκούργου σοφίαν καὶ πρόνοιαν

¹ Kessler, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

(VII, 4). He permits himself this digression because the history of the ephorate brings into sharper relief the wisdom of the man who without that institution still managed to bring about a political equilibrium. In this equilibrium which Lycurgus had in view the gerousia ranks first; his form of government is a gerontarchy, and the Spartan πολιτεία will remain so even after ephors have been introduced. Plutarch emphasized this once more when in XXIX, 11 he pointed out that *ἡ τῶν ἐφόρων κατάστασις οὐκ ἀνέσις ἢν ἀλλ' ἐπίτασις τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ δοκοῦσα πρὸς τοῦ δῆμου γεγονέναι, σφοδρότεραν ἐποίησε τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν*. The statement is not at variance with VII. It is the outcome of Plutarch's study which covered Sparta's entire history. This history knew periods when attempts were made to curb the power of the aristocracy (e.g. 130 years after Lycurgus), but afterwards the measure appeared to benefit not the people but the ruling classes. This, we may add, is the natural course in a society in which the citizen counts for nothing and the state (virtually the rulers) reigns supreme.

Lyc. VII presents a striking example of Plutarch's curious habit of thought – one idea evoking another associated with it, and so on in a series. His first intention is to resume (with *οὗτος*) the discourse interrupted in VI, 7 by his excursus. But the aristocracy has upset the equilibrium by the rider to the rhetra. The question obtrudes itself: how did matters develop after this? The answer brings the ephors on the scene. Whence did they come? This brings us back to Theopompus. What was the relation between the ephors and the king? That turns the discussion to the transfer of powers and finally to a parallel with some of the neighbouring states, the entire discussion finishing up with a eulogy on Lycurgus who managed to bring about an equilibrium without a transfer of power. With this word of praise Plutarch has returned to the law-giver, on a description of whose career and activities he is in fact engaged.

Cleom. X shows that Plutarch knew what the original

powers of the ephorate were: the ephors were assistants of the king, invested with certain civil powers at a perilous juncture when military duties were making excessive demands on king Theopompus. The anecdote about the king's wife shows that the institution of the office aimed at a transfer of powers. The historical development shows that it had no effect on the oligarchical character of the Spartan state, because the ephors themselves belonged to the aristocracy. *The introduction of the ephorate meant a shifting of emphasis inside the gerontocracy.* Plutarch however had lost his heart to the previous Lycurgean situation.

The internal shifts present the following outline:

1. Lycurgus: 'trias politica'. What Plutarch means by 'equilibrium' is that the people has at least some rights. The gerousia however rules.
2. Theopompus: the balance is upset. The king is a mighty army commander, the people loses its small influence, the king transfers certain powers to the ephors.

3. Asteropus, '130 years after Lycurgus'. The equilibrium is partly restored through the curbing of the gerousia by the ephors, but from XXIX, 11 it appears that the gerousia remains the ruling power.

4. Under energetic ephors like Chilon the ephorate is strengthened at the cost of king and council.

It is possible that in the third phase their increasing powers began to develop also in the field of religion. Plutarch (*Agis* XI, 4-5) describes their function of 'watching for the shooting star': δι' ἐτῶν ἑννέα λαβόντες οἱ ἑφόροι νίκητα καθαρὰν καὶ ἀσέλγην σιωπῆ καθέζονται πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀποβλέποντες. ἐὰν οὖν ἐκ μέρους τινὸς εἰς ἔτερον μέρος ἀστὴρ διαέη, κρίνουσι τοὺς βασιλεῖς ὡς περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἔξαμαρτάνοντας. Καὶ καταπαύουσι τῆς ἀρχῆς, μεχρὶ ὃν ἐκ Δελφῶν ἡ Ὀλυμπίας χρησμὸς ἔλθῃ τοῖς ἡλωκόσι τῶν βασιλέων βοηθῶν. Apparently this was an effective weapon against the kings, having at least once led to the deposition of one of them (Leonidas II in 243/2).

We may presume, however, that the observance of the

signs by the ephors is much older than the third century B.C. The name of Asteropus, the 'Star-gazer', may be the familiar name given to the ephor who succeeded in wresting this power from the kings. There is no reason why one should doubt that Asteropus was a historical figure¹. Although it has to be admitted that we know nothing more about him than the statement in *Cleom.* X and although *Agis XI* is our only source for the ephors' function just mentioned, in neither case does the scantiness of the evidence give the right to question its reliability.

It has been suggested that the story of Demaratus (Herodotus VI, 65 ff.) has something to do with the ephors' 'waiting for the sign'. The year of Demaratus' deposition (491/0), so it is alleged, coincided with the year in which the periodic observation of the heavens took place; the ephors supported the enemies of the king by using the method of the meteoric sign which was an indication that the gods were offended by some sin of the part of the king². – This theory can hardly be correct. If Demaratus was accused and convicted of impieties (as a result of a trial after the announcement that a 'sign' had been seen), it is highly improbable that shortly afterwards the Spartans would have made him an archon at the *gymnopædiae*³.

There is no excuse whatsoever for questioning the accuracy of the Aristotle-Plutarch tradition on the ephorate. The sources that attribute the institution of the office to Lycurgus are looking for the πρῶτος εὑρέτης of all political reforms, and they credit the oldest law-giver with all later developments. Those who make Chilon responsible thereby confer the honour on presumably the most spectacular figure among the ephors in the archaic period. Those who regard the ephorate as the

¹ Michell, *op. cit.*, p. 108 and 124, gives the relevant literature.

² H. W. Parke, *The deposing of Spartan kings*, CQ, XXXIX, 1945, p. 106–112, spec. p. 108.

³ Herodotus, VI, 67, 1–2. See further p. 222 ff. below.

work of Theopompus base their opinion on the traditional dating of the list of ephors and on Aristotle's chronological studies. The introduction of an annual list in Sparta according to the names of the former 'servants of the kings' would have been an insult to the kings themselves. But if the ephors were *new* officers, desired by the kings, the introduction of the list containing their names held nothing offensive to the kings. The fact that Aristotle supported this dating, as may be concluded from the close connection between *Lyc.* VII and the preceding chapters, warns us against a rash rejection of Plutarch. Woodward, in connection with Miss Chrimes' theories on the ephorate (which for the greater part he rightly rejects), remarks that 'few will object to the statements that it was a Dorian rather than a merely Spartan institution, and that ephors existed (*pace* Cleomenes III) before the first Messenian war'¹. I readily admit the correctness of the first statement but it does not imply that ephors existed *long* before the Messenian war. The last statement would conflict not only with Cleomenes III but also with the dependable Aristotelian tradition. The difficulties with Messenia, shortly afterwards resulting in the first Messenian war, led to the institution of the ephorate in the reign of Theopompus.

¹ *Historia*, I, 1950, p. 627.

PART THREE
SOME SPARTAN CUSTOMS

CHAPTER I

SPARTAN MARRIAGE CEREMONIES AND FERTILITY RITES

§ 1. INTRODUCTION

To the influence of cultural anthropology we owe the almost simultaneous publication of two studies on the education of youths in Sparta¹. Quite a number of Spartan customs appear to be very ancient and not a collection of legendary stories from later periods, as an earlier generation of scholars believed².

The chapters dealing with the Agoge form the greater part of Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus. It is not difficult to fit this author's views on the education of boys and girls, both younger and older, into the tradition already begun with

¹ Nilsson, *Die Grundlagen des spartanischen Lebens*, Klio, XII, 1912, p. 308-340 (= *Opuscula selecta* II, p. 826 ff.); Jeanmaire, *La cryptie lacédémone*, REG, XXVI, 1913, p. 121 ff. An earlier work by Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde* (1902). Points of resemblance are not restricted to so-called primitive civilizations or uncivilized tribes. This is shown by a study by M. Quistorp, *Männergesellschaft und Altersklassen im alten China*, Mitteil. des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen, Abt. Ostasiatische Studien, XVIII, 1915, p. 1 ff., who reports similar customs in China.

² The *κόσμος* in Sparta does not mean a return to the fossilized relics of a 'primitive' stage of society, as is suggested by A. J. Toynbee in *A Study of History*, III, p. 55-79. There are, indeed, indications that in certain periods under a conservative government the past was emphasized but that past had remained the property of the community and not become outworn. Hence, there is conservatism, not regression. Miss Chrimes deserves credit for pointing to this continuity (*op. cit.*), although in some respects she goes too far.

Critias¹. It is also certain that Plutarch's description in the main reflects the views current in his own age². That Critias, however, in support of his views, should also have made up the facts mentioned by Plutarch, is an unfounded statement of rationalist hypercritics. The studies mentioned above have revealed, behind the philosophical wording and behind Plutarch's moralizing, an innate Spartan outlook on life corresponding with present-day phenomena in many primitive societies. This historical kernel is valuable and by scholars like Nilsson it has already been partly stripped of the outer shell with which Plutarch's didactic purposes had surrounded it.

How the spade-work of men like Nilsson has deepened our knowledge may be shown by a quotation from Cobet³. Plutarch says in *Lyc.* XV, 4: ἐγάμουν δι' ἀρπαγῆς, and in XV, 12 that an elderly man married to a young woman should lend his spouse to a young vigorous Spartan in order that she may bear a robust child. Marriage by capture by an elderly man according to Cobet is out of the question: 'Intellegisne imprimis memor Herodoti: εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβούλεστο οὐκ ἀν ἡρπάζοντο (I, 4) quo modo senex iam plenis nubilem annis invitam ducere nedum *rapere* potuerit?' Cobet's question misjudges both the fact that marriage by capture is a symbolical act⁴ and the fact that neither Plutarch's report nor that of Xenophon⁵ is concerned with the woman's preference. The quotation from Herodotus is irrelevant. It deals with following an adventurer like Paris abroad, whereas the question under consideration is that of obtaining a child from a member of the same community.

¹ So Kessler, *op. cit.*, p. 60 ff.

² Ollier, *Le mirage spartiate*, II, p. 165 ff.

³ Cobet, *Novaes Lectiones*, pp. 711, 719-720. Cf. for a modern discussion Nilsson, *Klio*, XII, 1912, p. 330; *Griechische Feste*, p. 371 ff. A summary of modern literature in G. Glotz, *Histoire grecque* II, p. 558.

⁴ The capture is only pretence, for the bridesmaid takes care of the young woman (*Lyc.* XV, 5).

⁵ Xenophon, *Lac. Resp.*, I, 5.

In the same way as marriage by capture, the measures ensuring the procreation of vigorous descendants and those directed against bachelors should be looked upon as ancient primitive institutions which caught Plutarch's attention. They should not be measured, as was done by Cobet, by the standards of modern society and so dismissed as impossible.

§ 2. Τεκνοποία

The rule for *τεκνοποία* mentioned by Plutarch (XV, 12-13) is twofold. The old man may take the initiative. He chooses a young man whom he respects (*ἀσπάσασθε*) to beget for him a child by his own young spouse. Also the man who desires to beget a child may be the prime mover and choose a handsome, strong and married woman with whose husband he makes an agreement. These, according to Plutarch, are the two manners in which 'polyandry' is brought about. The primitive nucleus of the story is that a vigorous soldier begets a strong progeny and that a healthy woman gives birth to sturdy children. The question is whether, in a society in which woman seems to have been as emancipated as she was in Sparta¹, she could be disposed of without regard to her own wishes. We should not overestimate the woman's passivity. The bearing of children was counted an honour; as the mother of a soldier she rendered a special service to the community. A woman brought up in a community which believed in such social ethics would not feel outraged by 'polyandry'.

The unrestrained directness in the description of sexual intercourse in XV, 12 is striking: *ἔξῆν . . . ἀνδρὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ νέας γυναικός, εἰ δή τινα τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀσπάσασθε νέων καὶ δοκιμάσειν, εἰσαγαγεῖν παρ' αὐτὴν καὶ πλήσαντα γενναῖον σπέρματος ίδιον αὐτοῖς ποιήσασθαι τὸ γεννηθέν.* It shows, I

¹ E.g. *Compar. Lyc. et Num.* 3. Cf. *Lyc.* c. XIV and Thiel, *De feminarum apud Doros condicione*, Mnem., LVII, 1929, p. 193-205; LVIII, 1930, p. 402-409. On *Lyc.* XVI in general: W. Erdmann, *Die Ehe im alten Griechenland*, Münch. Beitr. z. Papyrusforschung, XX, 1934, p. 113 ff.

believe, the original primitive meaning of this lending out, the point is γενναῖον σπέρμα¹. Again, we should dissociate these expressions by Plutarch from the philosophical propaganda. Plutarch himself is under the influence of these ideas on natural selection. But in primitive society the issue is the mysterious vital energy in the warrior's σπέρμα. This energy must be utilized for the community², it being both a religious and a social duty. The desire to have a vigorous offspring even led to women being offered to guests: ταῖς δὲ αὐτῶν γυναιξὶ παραχειλεύονται ἐκ τῶν εὐειδεστάτων κύεσθαι καὶ δοτῶν καὶ ἔγενων (Nic. Damasc., FGrHist. 90, fr. 103 z (p. 387)). This is not equivalent to the group marriage³, but an expression of the desire to utilize the seed of the εὐειδέστατοι for the community.

There is no reason for supposing that Nicolaus refers to a later period when the Spartan custom had degenerated.

Neither is there any reason for assuming that the Spartan duty of 'Zeugungshilfe' was restricted to men of the same family, and only in the case that the young woman was an ἐπίκλητος (so Ollier in his Commentary on *Lac. Resp.* I, 7). Both Xenophon and Plutarch refer to a *general* custom and to the duties of the male.

Men, able to beget good and strong children but neglecting this duty, fail to make proper use of the γενναῖον σπέρμα, their own natural energy, and therefore are subject to certain punishments (XV, 1-3). The ἀτυμία, the consequence of being unmarried, consists of:

¹ Evidence for the existence of similar ideas in later times is found in the story of Acrotatus, who had won distinction in the war against Pyrrhus. It was common knowledge in Sparta that this young warrior had an affair with Chilonis, Cleonymus' wife. The hero is greeted by the Spartans with οὐχ. 'Αχρότατε, καὶ οὐρέ τὰν Χιλωνίδην μίνον παῖδας ἀγαθούς τῷ Σπάρτη πολεῖ.

² Even Kessler (*op. cit.*, p. 64, 90) admits that some of the rules reveal primitive religious ideas. He rightly refers to Fustel de Coulanges, *La cité antique* (p. 51) and Rohde, *Psyche* (I⁹⁻¹⁰, p. 226, note 3).

³ Jeanmaire, REG, XXVI, 1913, p. 136.

- a* exclusion from the *gymnopaediae*,
- b* making a tour, naked, in winter-time singing a satirical song about themselves,
- c* being deprived of the service which youth owes to the aged.

The story of Dercyllidas (XV, 3) suggests that these penalties applied not only to bachelors but also to married men without male offspring. They are also liable to the reproof pronounced by a younger man: *οὐδὲ ἔμοι σὺ τὸν ὑπείξοντα γεγέννηκας*. The pride Spartan women took in their sons is shown in the words of Leonidas' wife: *μόναι τίκτομεν ἀνδρας* (XIV, 8).

§ 3. THE PENALTIES

The religious meaning at the back of the penalties under *a* to *c* may appear from the following remarks.

First of all the penalties under *c* and *b* will be discussed. This will pave the way for dealing with a feature of the *gymnopaediae*, which has probably not received at the hands of most modern historians the attention it deserves. I believe that the overlooking of this penalty mentioned by Plutarch, exclusion from the *gymnopaediae*, is responsible for a one-sided interpretation of this festival in the modern literature on this subject.

There are two points I wish to emphasize beforehand. For my interpretation I attach great value to the conjecture that the penalties mentioned by Plutarch applied both to bachelors and to married men without sons. This conjecture is not conclusive for all that follows, but my interpretation of Demaratus' archonship in connection with the *gymnopaediae*¹ can only be correct if this hypothesis is accepted. In the second place, the life of the community in Sparta as well as elsewhere was originally more closely connected with religion than in later times. To what extent secularization in Sparta had proceeded in the fourth century is revealed

¹ See p. 223.

in the story of Dercyllidas used by Plutarch as an illustration in connection with the last of the penalties mentioned.

The Reverence of Youth for the Older Men

The man without a son is without honour in the community. The young people do not make room for him in the men's assembly. The story of Dercyllidas proves this. In the assembly even a great commander is inferior to the youths because he has no sons. He is inferior as a *man*, *i.e.* as a bearer of sexual potency. But in Dercyllidas' time (Vth and beginning of the IVth century) this inferiority no longer affects a man's political or military status. Dercyllidas is a *στρατηγός εὐδόκιμος* (Thuc. VII, 61 ff.; Xen. *Hell.*, III, 1, 8-IV, 8, 32). The separation between political power and power as a magic conception is complete. We know that in the beginning of the IVth century Sparta witnessed a struggle, of which Pausanias was the originator, for and against the old institutions. Possibly the young man who treated Dercyllidas so ungraciously belonged to Pausanias' party. But his interpretation of the ancient rule is wrong. I do not mean that evidently he applied the rule of bachelorhood to all men without sons, but I refer to the reason he gives: 'You have no son to honour me in my old age'. Dercyllidas in the eyes of this political opponent is not a sinner in any religious sense but an eccentric person, and therefore he could nevertheless be a *στρατηγός εὐδόκιμος*. The original magic meaning of the *ἄγαμος* was no longer realized¹.

¹ I do not wish to overrate my hypothesis that the penalties also applied to married men without sons. Quite possibly the man insulting Dercyllidas applied the old custom of courtesy, because he was unmarried. But his argument is: 'you have no son' and this need not to be the result of being unmarried. Cf. Poralla, *op. cit.*, s.v. The statement: 'Plutarch Lyk. 15 gibt uns die Nachricht dass Derkylidas unverheiratet geblieben ist', taken literally is incorrect. It might *in fact* be a correct reference, but the young man does not say that. For the political conflicts at the end of the Vth century, see S. Luria, *Zum politischen Kampf in Sparta*, *Klio* XXI, 1927, p. 404-420, and G. B. Grundy, *Thucydides and the History of his Age* II, 1948, p. 213-250.

Walking Naked While Singing Songs

The Dorian nakedness has nothing to do with morals or aesthetics. I refer to the studies by Müller and by Heckenbach, and also for a wider connection to Westermarck's *Ursprung und Entwicklung der Moralbegriffe*¹. Nudity originated in cult. Our sources, like those under discussion, preserve traces of this religious meaning. Plutarch's account connects nudity with a circumambulation. Van der Leeuw says this procession aimed at activating the potentiality of the (religious) community². Those punished serve as a warning and as an adhortation to other men and to themselves. In the first place the ceremony is a penalty, as is shown by their song $\delta\acute{\alpha}\delta\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\mu\pi\alpha\sigma\chi\omega\iota\sigma$, $\delta\tau\iota\tau\omega\iota\sigma\pi\delta\acute{\iota}\mu\delta\acute{\iota}\omega\iota\sigma$. It is moreover an apotropaic act. There is positive harm in leaving the virile potentiality unused. The divine vital energy is despised and the task of preserving the community's defence and securing it by begetting sons is neglected.

The procession did not lead to an immediate marriage of those involved. The object of the rite was only to safeguard the community for a year against the consequences of this negligence in matters of religion. We might argue that the number of fighting men did not increase if these men were in any case not prepared to have sons. The apotropaion and the penalty did not help to meet the shortage in man-power. True, the evil consequence remained in practice, but for the community this rite has prevented the religious evil of divine wrath. Perhaps in some cases there was the hope that the ceremony would in fact lead to an increase of the number of citizens, and in this way the social consequences would be averted. Such a case was that of the married man whose

¹ W. A. Müller, *Nachtheit in der altor. u. altgr. Kunst*, Leipzig 1906. J. Heckenbach, *De nuditate sacra sacrisque vinculis*, RVV, IX, 3, 1911. Nilsson, *Klio*, XII, 1912, p. 337 (= *Opuscula selecta II*, p. 864). G. van der Leeuw, *Phaenomenologie der Religion*, p. 319. Nilsson, *GGR*, I, p. 104, 489. G. Kowalski, *De Phrynes pectore nudato*, *Eos*, XLII, 1947, p. 50-62.

² van der Leeuw, *op. cit.*, p. 353 ff.

marriage had not been blessed with sons and who, as may be inferred from Plut. *Lyc.* XV, 3, shared the disgrace. The penal rite is also a fertility rite as it stimulates the hope of having a son.

Gymnopaediae

After all that has been written on the subject of the *gymnopaediae* a *communis opinio* appears to have been reached which regards this festival as a sports event without any religious meaning¹. But the manner in which Plutarch discusses the *gymnopaediae* raises a doubt whether this *communis opinio* is correct. The question is: why is it that bachelors (and also married men without sons, if my conjecture is correct) are barred from the *gymnopaediae*?

The phenomenology of religion proves that spectators and actors of the dramatic act or the religious play are one (Van der Leeuw). Hence, if the spectators bring harm to the dramatic act or the religious play, they should be barred from the performance. If the *gymnopaediae* are a mere sports event (Nilsson), it is hard to imagine why childless men or bachelors should be regarded as obstacles. In war bachelors are not barred; they may even be commanders, witness Dercyllidas. What then is the only field in which the bachelor is harmful? It is in the field of fecundity rites, for the man who does not allow the γενναῖον σπέρμα, the vital energy, to function cannot mix with those who pray the gods for this energy.

The feat of endurance performed by men in the heat of summer at the *gymnopaediae* should therefore be regarded as a rite of primitive religion². The fact that at this festival

¹ The standard view is that of Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, p. 140. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, p. 477, note 31.

² On this feat of endurance cf. Plato, *Leges*, 633 B-C. Cf. Bölte in RM, LXXVIII, 1929, p. 124, *Zu lakonischen Festen*. Usener's interpretation, in *Kl. Schr.* IV, p. 186, of the 'cosmic' meaning, viz. as a 'dance of the stars', Bölte rightly considers to be not very satisfactory. I believe the fact that bachelors (or those without sons) were barred from the *gymnopaediae* to be a strong argument in favour

certain competitions were organized does not conflict with the original religious nature of the ceremony, because the competition as a serious act of the community is connected with religious life¹.

Plutarch is the only author to mention the rule that barred the unmarried from the *gymnopaediae*. I believe, though, that Herodotus in the story of Demaratus (VI, 61 ff.) has preserved some particulars which come to stand in a peculiar light when viewed in connection with the measure of exclusion now under discussion. I base this theory – which is the only support for what follows – on the assumption that the exclusion from the *gymnopaediae* was directed to the men without a son rather than to the unmarried (Cf. *Lyc.* XIV, 8 and XV, 3). I would therefore not stress Plutarch's words: *ἀπιμίαν τινα προσέθηκε τοῖς & γαμοῖς*. We can imagine a Spartan having a son and still be unmarried. Such is the case when a robust young man begets a child by the young spouse of an elderly man (XV, 12). But it is difficult to imagine that the natural father, supposing that he was unmarried, would come within the penal provision applying to the unmarried. He could in any case not be said to have failed to convert *γενναῖον σπέρμα* into offspring, nor could he be reproached: *οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμοὶ σὺ τὸν ὑπελέγοντα γεγέννηκας* (XV, 3), because

of the theory that the feast was a fecundity feast. Bölte, too, concludes that it was a religious occasion (pp. 129–30).

¹ W.B. Kristensen, in *Theol. Tijdschr.*, N.R. 2, 44, 1910, p. 1 ff., has demonstrated this in respect of many spring and harvest festivals. Cf. van der Leeuw, *op. cit.*, p. 353. Part of Kristensen's argument follows here in translation: 'The magico-religious means of accomplishing this victory (*i.e.* the triumph of life over death) is to have the eternal energy of nature triumph *in effigie*. Obviously the vigour and agility of youths engaged in friendly contest was the most striking example of the great eternal struggle in nature on which the life of man and animal depends' (p. 5). It is evident that men who are sterile or render themselves so by remaining unmarried cannot take part in this magical rite and that even as spectators they may impair the good effects.

γεννῶν can only apply to the natural father. Later, in a period in which law had superseded magic, the legal position of the son (and consequently that of his stepfather) may have become more important. From that moment onward the ἄγαμοι were *all* excluded, because surely, even if they begot children by an older man's wife, the children were counted as the γνήσιοι παῖδες of the woman's legal husband, who had chosen a young man to beget *for him* a child. It is wrong to say that in that stage the γενναῖον σπέρμα was counted as that of the older man, for it did not count any longer. The magic awe for the γενναῖον σπέρμα had disappeared.

Originally for a man the possession of a son counts more than the nuptial tie. Even in case a man did not want to cohabit with his own wife, and nevertheless desired children, he could choose an other woman to make her the mother of his children. This is the interpretation of Xenophon: *εἰ δέ τις αὐτὸς γυναικὶ μὲν συνοικεῖν μὴ βούλοιτο κτλ.* (*Lac. Resp.* I, 8), words which do not refer to bachelors, but to married men (thus rightly the interpretation of both Marchant and Ollier).

If, however, a person was married, then the community regarded the τεκνοποία as the natural result of the marriage. This is specially so in the case of the wife. She is repudiated if she is barren (Herodotus V, 39; VI, 61). The sources make it clear that the wife was held responsible for childlessness. A different situation arose when a man from more than one marriage had no children. Possibly the story of Demaratus' father Ariston proves that such a man, on account of the absence of γενναῖον σπέρμα, was considered to be on a par with the ἄγαμος (Herodotus VI, 68, 3: σπέρμα παιδοποιόν).

Demaratus, after his dismissal from the kingship, is ἄρχων at the ceremony of the gymnopædiae, so Herodotus tells us. Some commentators presume that Demaratus was in command in his capacity of ephor. This is highly improbable, as it seems unlikely that the deposed king should have been given the important post beside the kings. It would imply an attempt in Sparta itself to create a situation which was bound

to increase political trouble, because the occupation of the leading government posts would continually have thrown the enemies Demaratus and Leotychidas, his successor on the throne, together. Herodotus' version that Demaratus left Sparta and settled abroad, sounds more acceptable. Sparta had little room for a deposed king.

The theory making Demaratus an ephor after his dismissal is therefore unacceptable. It is, moreover, wrongly based on Xen. *Hell.* VI, 4, 16 and Plut. *Ages.* 29, referring to the *gymnopaediae* of 371 B.C. The battle of Leuctra had just been fought and news of the defeat reached Sparta. The ephors then ordered that the festival should proceed. But this order at this particular juncture does not imply that the ephors, or one of their number, were in control of the festival. There is more reason to think in this connection of the *Bidiaioi* (or *Biduoi*) who both in the inscriptions and in Paus. III, 11, 2 are mentioned as the leaders of the festivities¹.

Even if Demaratus held the less exalted office of *Biduos*, the question remains why the Spartans appointed him as leader of the *gymnopaediae* shortly after having dismissed him as king. In connection with our conclusion from the statements of Plutarch I believe that there is no question here of a distinction conferred on the deposed king, of a salve for his wounded feelings, but of a grievous insult engineered by his enemies. Only after this occurrence Demaratus leaves Sparta. The word *ηδη* (67.2) suggests that these things occurred only shortly after Leotychidas had succeeded him.

The insult is to be found in Herodotus' story of Demaratus' father Ariston (VI, 61 ff.)². This man had been married twice but both marriages had remained childless. I suppose that it was this fact which barred Ariston from the *gymnopaediae*. This was something conspicuous for a king, as he and his

¹ Cf. Macan's Commentary *ad loc.*, and Miss Chrimes, *op. cit.*, pp. 137, 158.

² Cf. Nilsson, *Cults, Myths, Oracles, and Politics in Ancient Greece*, p. 128 ff.; also Parke, *art. cit.*, p. 108 (see p. 211 above).

colleague were given the $\pi\mu\sigma\delta\pi\alpha$ at all agones (Herodotus VI, 57). The fact that Ariston was barred and that consequently only one instead of two kings had occupied the seat of honour, had impressed upon the Spartan population in every year of his reign the fact that the king had no son. Presumably the older Spartans had not forgotten this. Demaratus' enemies now engineered a refined insult to the man who, in their opinion, unjustly passed himself off as a son of Ariston. They made him a leader of the festival which in his father's lifetime during two marriages had demonstrated Ariston's childlessness. Demaratus himself had at least one child¹ and was therefore not barred. His fatherhood made the insulting appointment possible.

The new king's sarcastic question: 'How do you like to be an archon after having been a king?' has still another implication than that indicated by Herodotus. Herodotus only has in view the contrast with the period of Demaratus' kingship (VI, 67). But the question has more venom in it: 'How do you fancy being in charge of the festival from which your father was barred?', the hidden implication being: 'You are not his son and therefore not a Spartan'.

Only now we can understand the conversation of Demaratus with his mother that follows upon the story (VI, 68). The subject is: who was my father? Demaratus tells his mother not of Leotychidas' remarks mentioned by Herodotus in VI, 67, but about the doubt concerning Ariston's fatherhood. The doubt was strongest when it was remembered that for years Ariston had been barred from the *gymnopaediae*. The recollection had also raised doubts in Demaratus himself and for this reason he turns to his mother.

Herodotus' object in this story concerns the political meaning of the conflict between Demaratus and Leotychidas. He is interested in the weapons used in the conflict only if

¹ *Sext. Emp. Adv. Math.* I, 258 mentions a descendant of the Spartan king also called Demaratus, a son of Procles and Aristotle's daughter Pythias. See Poralla, *op. cit.*, p. 42, s.v. Damaratos.

they have a political meaning. He did not realize that Demaratus' archonship at the *gymnopaediae* had raked up Ariston's childlessness, nor did he understand the nature of the insult offered to Demaratus, as he connected the insulting words of king Leotychidas with the contrast between Demaratus' archonship and his former royal power. So he failed to see how deeply Demaratus must have felt this personal hurt. It is not surprising that in later times the archaic meaning of the festival became lost and its origin was thought to be of a political or military nature. This explains why Eusebius put the origin of the festival at 668 or 665 B.C. and why modern historians accept this, or a corresponding date as correct¹.

A different explanation might be considered. On the occasion of the feast of the virile energy, the *gymnopaediae*, the military achievements of the men involved were also commemorated. But it would be historically incorrect to date the origin of the festival in the year in which this military commemoration (the attributes of which had been attached to the festival) took place for the first time. In that case the Thyreatic crown is such an attribute².

Plutarch in mentioning these penalties preserved valuable data, the significance of which he undoubtedly did not realize. He wished to attach to all these measures an ethical value which they certainly did not originally possess. These data however are ancient. Their age may best be gauged when we make a comparison with Plato's data. In *Leg.* IV, 721 D he mentions a fine as one of the penalties. This places us

¹ Bölte dates it in 544 B.C., after the victory which gave Thyrea to Sparta (*Herodotus I*, 82) because the leaders of the games, *προστάται τῶν χόρων*, wore a Thyreatic crown (*Athen.* 678 BC). Wade-Gery, *CQ*, XLIII, 1949, p. 79-81, suggests that it was instituted in 668 B.C. after the defeat at Hysiae in 669 (the victory of Argos which gave Thyreatis to Argos) in order to raise the morale of the troops. After the disgrace had been removed in 544 B.C., the wearing of the Thyreatic crown by the leaders was made compulsory.

² See the preceding note.

altogether in the ethical sphere. Plutarch, however, does not mention a fine, and this, I believe, indicates the antiquity of his data, for a fine appears in legal practice long after the ritual custom described in the Life of Lycurgus. Plutarch here defies the Platonic tradition and leaves the latter's philosophical speculation out of his description of the penalties. This is no small merit.

§ 4. MARRIAGE CEREMONIES

Plutarch tells us: 1. that marriage was a marriage by capture; 2. that girls marry when they are full-grown, not when they are small and immature as is the case elsewhere; 3. that bridesmaids receive the bride, dress her in man's clothes and sandals, lay her on the floor on a straw-mattress in the dark and cut her hair short; 4. that the young man arrives, not blustering and drunk as after a celebration but sober, that he loosens her waistband¹ and carries her to the nuptial bed; 5. that for some time this first meeting is succeeded by others, also secret, with the result that sometimes there are children before man and wife have seen each other in daylight. Sexual life is characterized by moderation and Plutarch's philosophical comments deal mainly with this moderation (XV, 10)².

Plutarch's statements have been regarded as a rearrangement and elaboration of Xenophon's discussion of the same subject in *Resp. Lac.* 1 (so e.g. Kessler). Xenophon emphasizes the

¹ This waistband is not the virgin's zone, but the belt belonging to the man's clothes she is wearing. On Greek literature referring to the interchange of dress between the sexes, cf. Farnell, *Sociological hypotheses concerning the position of women in ancient religion*, AIR, VII, 1904, p. 70 ff. Only the woman has donned the dress of the opposite sex. Possibly here a stage had already been reached where the mutual sexual fear or suspicion gave rise to rules of sexual taboo for the woman only (cf. Farnell, *op. cit.*, p. 90).

² Kessler gives a useful summary of the evidence of philosophical literature, *op. cit.*, p. 66 ff.

particulars mentioned above under 5 and 2 (though with some reserve as to point 2, cf. p. 231). Plutarch's other particulars are said to be 'Überarbeitung'. Against this view I wish to maintain that Plutarch's data go back, directly, to an older source and that Plutarch was aware of their value even if he did not fully understand them.

The passing from girlhood to the married state is to be pictured and consecrated by a *rite de passage*. The transition is violent and symbolized by the capture and the cutting of the hair¹. The kidnapping of Kore and of the Sabine women is, as Lambrechts has rightly pointed out, a fitting parallel². The hair is soul-substance, the seat of personality and energy. In this act the woman surrenders herself to become a different being. After the 'capture' she belongs entirely to her husband and even wears man's apparel³. The husband, on the other hand, only possesses her when he has divested her of her waistband, *i.e.* after he has removed the obstacle on the road from the unmarried state to matrimony⁴. This

¹ For literature on this subject see e.g. E. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, 1911; P. Schredelscker, *De superstitionibus Graecorum quae ad crines pertinent*, Diss. Heidelberg, 1913. A. Bertholet, in RGG², II, s.v. Haar; Nilsson in *GGR*, I, p. 126 and also s.v. Haar in Index.

² Cf. Lambrechts, *Consus et l'enlèvement des Sabines*, Ant. Class., XV, 1946, p. 61-82.

³ In his pioneering study on the Crypteia in REG, XXVI, 1913 Jeanmaire refers to an interesting parallel. With the African tribe of the Masai the young people in the early stage of their married life interchange dress; Plutarch mentions the change only for the woman. This has nothing to do with disguising, as Jeanmaire thinks. The woman is not in disguise to remain unknown on the occasion of the capture because the capture preceeds the changing of dress. She puts on the man's clothes because she belongs to the man and because the adolescense rites for men are official (the rite at the temple of Artemis Orthia, the *διακατεστύωσις*, is an example). The rite of transition brought about by the marriage is therefore more essential for the woman than for the man.

⁴ On the meaning of the obstacle cf. Heckenbach, *op. cit.*, *passim*, and RGG², s.v. Knoten.

is essential. The bridesmaid can only make preparations but the husband brings about the transition from the one world to the other. It is he who loosens the band or knot and it is he who raises her from the mattress. The *consummatio matrimonii* takes place not after the capture but only after the bridesmaid has put the man's garments on her and cut her hair symbolizing the farewell to the former sphere of life, her virginity.

Comparative ethnology has produced many instances relative to the above. Obviously these problems are approached altogether in the wrong way when the data from Plutarch, which do not occur in Xenophon, are regarded as additions of a later date. Details of this kind are not just made up.

In a military state the man is often away from home and the wife ought to be able to manage the house unaided. The Spartan wife therefore enjoys considerable freedom and she is often the subject of lively discussion in the Greek world, reflections of which we find in Plut. *Lyc.* XIV. One of the consequences of this more extensive responsibility and independence is that women marry at a more advanced age than is customary in other less military states. Very young women could not shoulder such responsibility. Plutarch correctly states: οὐ μικράς οὐδὲ ἀδόρους πρός γάμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκμαζούσας καὶ πεπείρους. The fact that for a marriage, or rather for the mating, in Sparta the age of the citizen and citizeness is of more importance than family relations or wealth, sometimes encouraged promiscuity. The absence of family life – for boys from their seventh year onward are educated by the state – is, I believe, an important point in this connection. We can well understand the Greek view on Spartan women as expressed in Aristotle's words: ζῶσι γάρ ἀκολάστως πρός ἀπασαν ἀκολαστῶν καὶ τρυφερῶς. But Plutarch is not aware of the cause, *i.e.* the military state allowing women a very independent, sometimes even a semi-military, position as XIV, 2, 3 shows. Apart from that he is far more accurate than Xenophon who mentions (1, 6) the rule that

men were not to marry till ἐν δοχμαῖς τῶν σωμάτων. It was this information of Xenophon which led Cobet to reject the whole story as useless, because it is immediately followed by Xenophon's reference to an elderly man marrying a young woman. Cobet rightly holds this for impossible if marrying in full manhood was the rule, as this was considered συμφέρον τῇ εὐγονίᾳ. Xenophon applied the remarks about women to men and so contradicted himself. For a man the marriageable age was late, although in Athens men were allowed to marry at the age of eighteen¹. In reality, however, the Athenian man, too, for military and specially for financial reasons married late. Here then Sparta did not differ from other Greek states. The difference lies in the age at which women married. Plutarch states this striking difference, and in this respect he is more accurate than Xenophon. This confirms our assumption that Plutarch is less dependent on Xenophon and the latter's sources than has sometimes been realized.

§ 5. CONCLUSION

The XVth chapter of Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus closes with an anecdote. In the form of an *adynaton* he states that adultery may occur in Sparta 'if a bull can stretch over Mount Taygetus in order to drink from the river Eurotas', (XV, 17-18). Nilsson rightly regards this as valuable and *volkstümlich*².

It would be foolish to regard the subjects discussed above, the begetting of children by the strong, the penalties for those who had no sons and the marriage ceremonies, as useless details in a discussion by a poor historian anxious to lend some colour to his tale. These details are valuable relics of rites and cults. Plutarch mentions them without offering

¹ *Dict. des Antiquités*, s.v. Matrimonium; Glotz, *Histoire grecque*, II, p. 574.

² On these *adynata* cf. van der Leeuw in *Jaarbericht 'Ex Oriente Lux'*, vol. II (no. 8, 1942), p. 631 ff.

any comment, except when under the influence of current ethics he indulges in an excursus on the ethical value of some particulars. The passage XV, 2-5 relating to the principal customs, the *ἀτυπία* of the *ἄγαμοι*, and the marriage ceremonies, are without comment altogether. I appreciate this as a sagacious self-restraint on the part of a historian who states the facts but does not indulge in an interpretation, the material for which is not available. Modern historians, though possessing no more material for interpretation than Plutarch, have all too often disposed of the customs related by him as ridiculous concoctions offered by him or his sources, and in so doing they have shown less modesty and historical discernment than Plutarch commanded. The study of social and religious phenomena among primitive peoples has revealed particulars similar to those described by Plutarch. Yet the traditional underrating of Plutarch as a historian is such that, even if it is not denied that he provides us with highly interesting material, the credit goes to an unknown X rather than to Plutarch. The 'X' represents an elusive box of quotations collected indiscriminately from past ages, a cyclopaedia or cyclopaedias of information intended to stimulate the reader's interest. Fortunately, amongst this useless rubbish valuable details were occasionally found. — I shall not go into the unreasonableness and incorrectness of this opinion of Plutarch, the burden of proof resting with those who regard him as a plagiarist. Even if an 'X' should have existed, then Plutarch at least was the man to glean the 'interesting detail' from the welter of useless data.

Instead of tilting at such windmills of modern criticism as the *compendia* Plutarch is said to have used but of which nothing is known, I call the attention to a passage that permits a comparison. I referred before¹ to Plutarch's statement about the marriageable age and contrasted it with that of Xenophon. Plutarch's account shows a marked ad-

¹ See p. 227 f.

vance. He stresses the fact that women marry when they are full-grown (XV, 4) whereas Xenophon only mentions the man and so provides nothing out of the ordinary. In Sparta compared with other Greek states the difference in respect of the men's age is merely gradual, the result of the rigorous isolation which was the lot of Spartan youths. But the important difference with other states like Athens is that in Sparta the woman, too, must be full-grown. Plutarch relates this difference, not so Xenophon. This is to the credit of Plutarch himself, not of 'X', because Plutarch knew Xenophon's works. Here he departs from this source, and makes a personal choice from the data provided by tradition.

CHAPTER II

THE SPARTAN AGOGE

In *Lyc.* XVIff. Plutarch has preserved for us a curious mixture of speculation and history. In the following paragraphs I shall endeavour to sift the historical particulars¹.

§ 1. GENERAL REMARKS

The children of genuine Spartans are regarded as the property of the state. The elders decide whether they shall be admitted to the community. When the father has brought the child to them, thereby signifying that it is his legitimate son, their criterion is that it must be a well-shapen and healthy child. If it is not, it is to be put to death.

There is no reason to question the truth of this statement. In a primitive society the community itself, not the individual, decides whom it will admit to its midst, for the admission, *i.e.* the reception of the child within the circle of genuine citizens, implies certain rights expressly mentioned by Plutarch: *κλῆρον αὐτῷ τῶν ἐνακισχείλων προσνείμαντες*.

We are dealing here not with a consequence of the military organization of the society but with a relic from the early settlement of nomads in the country. Nor did Plutarch, in this case, yield to the temptation to look for a *πρῶτος εὑρετής*. Only the system adopted from the child's seventh year onward does he attribute to Lycurgus. It is not certain whether Plutarch, in describing the reception of the infant in the community without a mention of Lycurgus, followed his historical instinct. It may be due to a kind of indifference with regard to infants. To him the mother is the most important figure. No state laws can surpass nature's laws; in the unequal

¹ A good survey of the Spartan Agoge with many useful bibliographical references is given by G. Thomson, *Aeschylus and Athens*², 1946, p. 103 ff.

battle between mother and law-giver the latter will be the loser so long as the children are small. He is therefore not mentioned. The state is fully compensated as soon as the child must be trained for citizenship. Then the mother no longer plays a part in the education.

§ 2. INFANT CARE

When the new-born babe is shown to the elders it is already clear that it is on its health that the admission to the circle of citizens depends. The procedure attending the admission of the new-born Spartan to citizenship was as follows (XVI):

1. the father presents his son to the elders,
2. the latter judge the child, *εἰ μὲν εὐπαγές εἴη καὶ φωμαλέον*,
3. in connection with this (εθεν) they order the women to bathe the baby in wine.

The women, therefore, do not subject the child to a new examination. The test is made once¹ and helps the elders to make their decision.

The test made by the women is according to Plutarch a health test. Here, too, Plutarch's explanation should be separated from the factual statement. His explanation is that epileptic and sickly infants are thrown into convulsions by

¹ The imperfectum *περιέλευον* (XVI, 3) does not imply that for every subsequent bath wine was used but it corresponds with *εκέλευον* and *εκέπεμπον*.

The elders were accustomed to make the one examination before deciding on a child's admission and for each examination bathing in wine was required. The addition of *κατ' ἀργάς* between *βρέφη* and *δλλ'* as proposed by Ziegler is unnecessary. Plutarch's statement has nothing to do with exposure of children by their parents (R. Tolles, *Untersuchungen zur Kindesaussetzung bei den Griechen*, diss. Breslau 1941, is unsatisfactory, but he gives the best survey of the literature on the subject). A critical summary of the recent French literature is given in the sensible article of P. Roussel, *L'exposition des enfants à Sparte*, REA, XLV, 1943, p. 5-17. Roussel is right when he says: 'Le souci d'eugénisme que l'on dénonce comme une invention d'époque tardive est, si je puis dire, en puissance déjà dans des pratiques très primitives' (p. 16 f.).

the strong wine and lose their senses: λέγεται γάρ ἐξιτασθαι τὰ ἐπιληπτικὰ καὶ νοσώδη πρὸς τὸν δικρατὸν ἀποσφακελίζοντα.

What is the meaning of the bathing in wine? Wine is an invigorating drink, not chiefly a luxury. 'Wine is the liquid of life', and as R.B. Onians has pointed out¹, wine appeared to be the liquid of the seed of the vine and was assimilated to the seed of man. The infusion of life may be exemplified by the bathing in wine of babies at Sparta. But this meaning of the custom, if it was known at all, was in Sparta superseded by the social implication. Bathing in wine initiated the child into the community.

On the strength of the initiatory rites in primitive societies it may be assumed that wine was assimilated to blood². This means that the drinking of the wine, or bathing in wine, gave admission to the brotherhood conferring the right to take part in the *syssitia*. It seems that in Greece from an early date blood was no longer used in fraternization rites³; the same presumably applies to Sparta.

It must have been difficult to receive infants into the community by making them *drink* wine. Little Achilles, who was given wine and spat it out (*Iliad* IX, 490), surely was not the only infant to refuse the cup. So long wine had its meaning for the community and the ritual drinking of it gave admission to the circle of citizens, the refusal was a serious thing for parents and guardians. The child could not be compelled, but they were anxious to subject it to the invigorating effect of the wine. I believe that this led to the attempt to transfer the strength of the wine in some other manner and to the expedient of bathing in the powerful liquid.

Roman religion offers a parallel of the parents' difficulties in this matter and of the solution attempted.

Initiare, as Wagenvoort and others have demonstrated,

¹ Onians, *The origins of European thought*, p. 217 ff., part. p. 222.

² K. Kircher, *Die sakrale Bedeutung des Weines im Altertum*, RVV. IX, 2, 1910.

³ Kircher, *op. cit.*, p. 74 ff.

means 'admitting to a religious body'. In this connection a fragment of Varro (*Non.* p. 108) deserves our attention: 'Cum pro cibo et potionē initiarent pueros, sacrificabatur ab edulibus Edusae et a potionē Potinae nutrici'. By means of a sacrifice infants were initiated in the service of the goddesses Edusa and Potina so as to teach them eating and drinking¹. Evidently this initiation did not guarantee the actual drinking of the ceremonial wine by the children, and we may conclude that in that case the bathing in wine was a welcome expedient for parents and child alike.

Presumably the Spartan infant was received into membership by several rites, which included recognition by the elders and bathing in wine. Omission of the latter left the child outside the community. The verb *ἐξιστασθαι*, used in this connection by Plutarch, seems curious. He may have taken it to stand for 'losing consciousness' but quite possibly his source, perhaps *via* a number of traditions, preserved an old expression with quite a different connotation. *ἐξιστασθαι* means 'to place oneself outside something' or 'to be placed outside something'. Cf. Empedocl. fragment 36: *ἔξιστατο Νεῖκος* ('begann der Streit herauszutreten', Diels)²: from the combination of the elements Envy detached itself and no longer formed part of it. This I believe to be the real meaning of *ἐξιστασθαι* in the original account of the wine and the children³. Plutarch's writings contain the following examples of a similar meaning of *ἐξιστασθαι*:

¹ H. Wagenvoort, *Initia Cereris*, Mededeelingen van de Kon. Vlaamsche Academie van Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, Jaargang X, no. 4, 1948, p. 9.

² In the last edition, Diels-Kranz⁴, p. 328 these words, *ἔξιστατο Νεῖκος* are rendered by: 'trat der Streit allmählich an das äusserste Ende'. This translation does not seem to be an improvement, but it does not conflict with my interpretation of *ἐξιστασθαι*.

³ Examples of *ἐξιστασθαι* with a related meaning are Soph. *Ant.* 1105: *καρδίας ἐξισταμαι*: 'I resign my cherished resolve' (Jebb), cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 249 D: *ἐξιστάμενος . . . τῶν ἀνθρώπων σπουδασμάτων*. Soph. *Ant.* 564: *οὐδὲ μένει νοῦς . . . ἀλλ' ἐξιστάται*. Eur. *Bacch.* *ἔξιστατης σοι πλόκαμος ἐξεστηγ'*, 'is displaced, disordered' (L-S⁵).

Solon VII 2: καὶ γάρ ἀρετήν, ἡς κτῆμα μεῖζον οὐδὲν οὐδὲν ἥδιον, ἔξισταμένην ὑπὸ νόσων καὶ φαρμάκων ὀρῶμεν. *Publicola* VI, 5 (active): ἡ γάρ ἀρετῆς ὑψος εἰς ἀπάθειαν ἔξιστησε τὴν ψυχὴν ἡ πάθους μέγεθος εἰς ἀναλγησαν. *Romulus* XXVI, 1: ἔξιστατο τοῦ δημοτικοῦ¹.

The second example demonstrates how 'to place something outside something' assumes the meaning of 'to change into'. Of this change of meaning we also find other traces in Plutarch: *Mor.* 1114 E: ἔξισταται δ' αἱ καὶ μεταλλάσσει τὴν φύσιν. 1115 E: ἔξισταται δι' ἀσθένειαν. *Mor.* 1085 A: ἡ τε τροφὴ καὶ ἡ γένεσις αὐτῆς ἔξι ὑγρῶν οὖσα συνεχῆ τὴν ἐπιφορὰν ἔχει καὶ τὴν ἀνάλωσιν. ἡ τε πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα τῆς ἀναπνοῆς ἐπιμέλια καυνή δει ποιεῖ τὴν ἀναθυμίασιν, ἔξισταμένην καὶ τρεπομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θύραθεν ἐμβάλλοντος ὁχετοῦ καὶ πάλιν ἔξιόντος: 'For its (viz. the soul's) nutriment and generation, consisting of moist things, have continual accession and consummation. And the mixture of respiration with the air always makes some new exhalation, which is altered and changed by the flux of air coming from abroad and again going out'².

Although the meaning of ἔξιστασθαι indicated above was not unknown, Plutarch did not realize the nature of the Spartan rite. From the words in XVI, 3: λέγεται γάρ ἔξιστασθαι τὰ ἐπιληπτικὰ καὶ νοσώδη πρὸς τὸν δικρατὸν ἀποσφακελίζοντα, it appears that he tried to find a medical interpretation of the rite. It is possible, I think, to trace the origin of this interpretation.

Soranus in his *Gynaeciae* refers to the bathing of new-born babes among Teutons, Scyths and some Greek tribes. A bath in cold water helps to harden the babes and to discover the weaklings. The latter become livid and are seized with convulsions³. There are other methods, so Soranus continues,

¹ For more examples cf. Wytttenbach's Index.

² Translation by Goodwin, *Plutarch's Morals*, vol. IV, 1883.

³ *Gynaec.* II 12, [81] 1 (ed. Soranus in *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* Vol. IV, 1927, by J. Ilberg): Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ὄμραλοτομίαν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς οἱ Γερμανοὶ καὶ Σκύθαι, τινὲς δὲ καὶ τῶν

such as bathing in wine mixed with brine, pure wine, urine or sprinkling with an extract of myrtle or oak gall. The physician warns against the cold water¹ and then also against the other baths. Wine he disapproves of on account of its intoxicating bouquet which affects the infants and makes them drowsy².

Plutarch knew from medical literature the warning against bathing babies in cold water. He, or his source, applied this warning to bathing in undiluted wine and the consequences of bathing in water also to bathing in wine. Infants responding unfavourably to the wine bath – as a result of the wine, in Soranus' words, being διά τὴν ἀποφορὰν πληρητικός καὶ καράδης – were 'excommunicated' (ἐξιστασθαι). So presumably said Plutarch's source. Vaguely remembering his medical literature, Plutarch read that bathing in wine might result in εξιστασθαι (excommunication) if the child did not stand the test. He then believed ἐξιστασθαι to indicate the effects of wine on infants and this conclusion was facilitated by the fact that ἐξιστασθαι may also connote 'losing consciousness'. Soranus' explanation, as we saw, is that the object was to harden healthy children (cf. Plutarch: τὰ δ' ὄγκεινά μᾶλλον στομοῦσθαι καὶ κρατύνεσθαι τὴν ἔξιν), whereas weak infants were attacked by convulsions and succumbed to the treatment. According to Plutarch these same consequences are caused not by the water but by the undiluted wine. He also expressly mentions that the women bathed the child in wine, not in water: οὐδὲ' ὑδατί τὰ βρέφη ἀλλ' οἶνῳ περιέλουν αἱ γυναῖκες.

'Ελλήνων εἰς φυχρὸν ὕδωρ καθιᾶσι τὸ βρέφος στερεοποιήσεως χάριν καὶ «τοῦ» τὸ μὴ φέρον τὴν φύξιν, ἀλλὰ πελιούμενον ἢ σπώμενον ὡς οὐκ δέξιον ἐκτροφῆς δὲ ἀπολέσθαι (cf. Arist. *Pol.* IV, 17, 1336a 15 and W. L. Newman, *The Politics of Aristotle*, III, 481).

¹ *Ibid.*, 12,2: Τὸ φυχρὸν μὲν γάρ τὴν πολλὴν καὶ ἀθρόαν πάκνωσιν, ἣς ἀμέτοχον ἦν τὸ γεννηθέν, πάντα βλάπτει, τῆς δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ βλάβης τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα λανθάνει μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν δυσπαθετέρων, ἐλέγχεται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν εὐπαθῶν σπασμοῖς καὶ ἀποκληγέσιαις ἀλισκομένων.

² *Ibid.*, 12,3: 'Ο δὲ οἶνος διά τὴν ἀποφορὰν πληρητικός καὶ καράδης οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῶν οὔτω τρυφερῶν παῖδων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἡβῆ τελείων.

Comparing Soranus with Plutarch enables us to trace the latter's error. From his medical sources he knew of the warning against bathing new-born babies in cold water. Either he himself or his source applied this warning to bathing in wine.

Hence, in three respects there was a misapplication of the medical literature. First of all, he regarded as a test the initiatory rite which succeeded the examination and the acceptance of the child by the elders as being free from infirmities. Secondly, he applied the danger of bathing children in cold water, as related by the physicians of his day, to bathing in wine. Medical literature, however, stressed the low temperature of the water; otherwise Soranus' explanation that the object was to harden the child had been meaningless. Lastly, he attributed the evil results to the wine being undiluted. All this caused the original idea to be lost and the medical reference to water to be applied to wine only.

Before Plutarch fell into this error, however, the original meaning of the bathing in wine had become lost. Bathing in wine, if I understand it aright, is an initiatory rite to which all infants are subjected if they are to be incorporated as members of the community. Bathing in water possibly was also an initiatory but in the first place a dangerous test. Soranus says of the water bath only that it took place *στρεψο-ποιήσεως χάριν*. Of the other kinds of baths he only mentions the evil results. In the case of the wine bath it is the intoxicating effect, in that of the urine the offensive odour. Only in the case of the water bath does he refer to its meaning for peoples who had this custom, *viz.* that of a test. This implies that for the wine bath and the other baths the (magical) significance to the community had been lost sight of. Quite possibly the excommunication originally referred to an unfavourable result of the presentation of the infant to the elders. Non-acceptance by this meeting meant *ἀξιοτασθαι*. If the child was accepted, then the ritual bathing in wine followed, no longer a test but a ceremony confirming the preceding examination or test by the elders.

After the meaning of the initiatory ceremony had become lost, the wine bath was regarded as a (second) examination or test corresponding with the water bath elsewhere. The next step led to attributing the consequences of the water bath to the wine bath. Plutarch or his source took this step and the term which originally meant 'to excommunicate' acquired the meaning of 'losing consciousness'. The fact that the verb also had this connotation made this change easier.

It may be suggested that not only the verb ἔξιστασθαι but also the verb ἀποσφαξελίζειν as related to the ancient custom had a different meaning from the one Plutarch applies to it in this passage, due to medical terminology: physically unfit children were 'torn away' and placed outside the community. In this sense the verb ἀποσφαξελίζειν was used by Aristophanes as is shown in the *Suda*¹. Possibly, for the meaning of the word as it appears in the accounts of ancient customs in Sparta we have to consult ancient comedy rather than medical literature. Aristophanes has ἀποσφαξελίζειν neither in the medical sense of 'to have one's limbs frost bitten and mortified' (cf. Hdt. III, 66; IV, 28), nor in that of 'falling into convulsions' but in that of 'tearing away'.

Be that as it may, we are certain that Plutarch has proved to us that ancient Sparta attributed to the wine a particular significance which in later times, in Sparta as elsewhere, was no longer understood; Critias (frag. 6 Diels) is no longer aware of the ancient custom. According to him wine to the Spartans is a luxury, not a stimulating beverage. He calls the Spartan way of drinking: σώματι τ' ὡφέλιμος, γνώμῃ τε κτήσει τε, wholesome to body, mind and wealth, and furthermore useful for the works of Aphrodite and for sleep.

Plutarch's information reveals that the old meaning of drinking wine still known in the epic poetry², i.e. as a means

¹ *Suda*, s.v. ἀπεσφαξέλιστε· οἱ μὲν γραμματικοὶ ἔσάπη· ἀπεσφενδόνησε· σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπεκάκησε· ἐπι τὸ ἔξαλφνης ἀπέθανεν. 'Ο δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης <'Ολκάσιν> ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπεσπάθη (= frag. 424).

² Cf. Onians, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

for acquiring strength, was known to old Spartans in the form of bathing in wine.

The remaining part of his discussion on the raising of children may be passed over. His idealistic description of children who are not over-particular, nor whining, crying or afraid in the dark is a picture of the ideal of the childless. Plato's words about Alcibiades' paedagogus who was a slave (XVI, 6) imply a reproach which Xenophon makes quite openly: Spartans look after the education of their children themselves, whereas others relinquish this responsible task to slaves. Plutarch does not take sides in this controversy which is surprising as the Spartan educational system was much debated in political and philosophical circles. He just mentions this particular, λέγεται κτλ., but offers no comment.

§ 3. EDUCATION FROM THE SEVENTH TO THE TWELFTH YEAR: XVI, 7-12

We meet here the first mention of Lycurgus, who is said to be responsible for the organization of State education. Boys are divided into ἀγέλαι and they are the charge of one member of the ἀγέλη. We shall revert to this arrangement in § 4.

In this part, just as in § 2 (cf. the closing part), Plutarch refrains from controversy. This is most striking in XVI, 10 dealing with Spartan illiteracy. In *Inst. Lac.* 4 (*Mor.* 237 A) ps.-Plutarch says: Γράμματα ἔνεκα τῆς χρείας ἐμάνθανον τῶν δ' ἄλλων παιδεύματων ξενηλασίαν ἐποιοῦντο, οὐ μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπων η λόγων. ή δὲ παιδεῖα ἡνάτοις πρὸς τὸ σφρασθαι καλῶς καὶ καρτερεῖ πονοῦντα καὶ μαχόμενον νικᾶν η ἀποθνήσκειν.

Here, too, controversy is absent. The statement therefore that Isocrates, who condemns Spartan ignorance (*Panath.* 208), is opposed to Plutarch is not correct. Plutarch nowhere praises Spartan ἀμαθία. These and similar statements (e.g. the anecdote of Pleistoanax in *Lyc.* XX, 8 and the apophthegm of

Zeuxidamus in *Moral.* 221 B¹) no doubt reflect the contrast between Athens and Sparta in the appreciation of intellectual achievement, but in recording these *bons mots* Plutarch takes no sides. His sole reason for mentioning them is his appreciation of their point and brevity as *δείγματα* (XX, 1) because they do not *ἀμοιρεῖν χάριτος*.

Already in the first stage of their training (7-12 years) the boys are hardened (XVI, 11) by sports practised naked and barefoot. This training in endurance and this sobriety take first place also in the following account of the education of older boys.

§ 4. EDUCATION AFTER THE TWELFTH YEAR: XVI, 12 ff.

a. *Spartan sobriety*

The examples of sobriety mentioned by Plutarch are characteristic indeed: no bathing, doing without a shirt, having only the one garment for a whole year. We do not associate such rules with sobriety, they rather, in a negative way, belong to the field of hygiene. It should be remembered, however, that in a country poor in water hygiene is a luxury which lifts these subjects to the sphere of sobriety.

One illustration of sobriety is the rule that boys have to make their own mattresses filling them with a sort of thistle *lykophon* (or *lykophron* or *lykophanon*): *ἐκάθευδον ἐπὶ στιβάδων, ἃς αὐτοὶ συνεφόρουν, τοῦ παρὰ τὸν Εὐρώπαν πεφυκότος καλάμου τὰ δάκρα ταῖς χερσὶν ἄνευ σιδήρου κατακλάσαντες.* ἐν δὲ τῷ χειμῶνι τοὺς λεγομένους λυκόφρονας ὑπεβάλλοντο καὶ κατεμελγυσαν ταῖς στιβάσι, θερμαντικὸν ἔχειν τι τῆς ὅλης δοκούσσης.

According to Hesychius λυκόφρον is the Messenian word for *ἐκινόπους*, a sort of thorn with fruit shaped like a sea-urchin. Plutarch is right in stating that a layer under the straw mattress is warmer, but he assumes that according

¹ Pleistoanax: μάνοι γάρ Ἐλλάνων δῆμοις οὐδὲν κακὸν μεμαθήκαμεν παρ' ὑμῶν. Zeuxidamus: συνεθίζεσθαι ταῖς διδραγαθίαις κρείττον ἢ ταῖς γραφαῖς προσέχειν.

to Spartan views the *lykophones* themselves radiate heat. He also alleges that the word was a special word: τοὺς λεγομένους λυκόφονας. The explanation however is uncertain.

It has been repeated again and again by modern scholars that these customs had no more than a practical meaning. Knives were not allowed because the boys had to be hardened; during the winter the young Spartans made their straw-mattress heavier for the obvious reason that in the winter a thick mattress is preferable. I do not think that this interpretation is quite satisfactory. We have to face two questions here:

1. why should the mattress be filled not with more reed plumes but with thorny twigs which could hardly be described as comfortable? ¹
2. (in close relation to the first question) why was *cutting* of the rushes on the river bank not permitted?

I offer the following suggestions: Both in the summer and in the winter the Spartan boys – as well as the adult soldiers – had the duty to protect their country. In the summer the soldiers are away on the frontiers or on military expeditions against enemies outside Laconia. Then it is the task of the youths to protect the homeland from unexpected danger. Therefore they sleep, so to speak, 'on the reeds of the Eurotas'. These Laconian-born fronds should be picked, not *cut*, for cutting means parting (death perhaps?).

During the winter the tasks of the youths and the men were the same. There was no army in the field to defend the community from the dangers from abroad. All true Spartans, even the very young male citizens, had to be on their guard, especially against attacks of the Messenian arch-enemies, now that the frontiers of Laconia were unprotected.

The herb mentioned by its Messenian name is symbolic of Messenia. The country had been subdued and this was

¹ Steier in his article in P-W, XIII, s.v. λυκόφονος overlooks the fact that the *lykophones* not only served as a bedpiece but were also mixed with the straw.

symbolized by sleeping on it. The Messenian country was inseparable from the Spartan country, and this explains why the reeds of the Eurotas and the Messenian thorns are mixed together in the straw mattress.

Hesychius' statement about λυκοφάνον reveals the contrast between δ παρὰ τὸν Εύρωταν περιφιάς καλάμος and οἱ λεγόμενοι λυκόφρονες.

Plutarch offers the following explanation of the use of λυκόφρονες in winter time: θερμαντικὸν ἔχειν τι τῆς ὑλῆς δοκούσῃ. We may attribute to any stuffing of a mattress an increase of warmth and so the question remains why Plutarch should mention the λυκόφρονες just for their warmth-producing qualities. This has led to consulting medical literature. Galen and Dioscorides both mention a certain poisonous herb λυκοκτόνον¹. For our purpose Galen is the best source because he recommends an ointment made up from this herb 'for promoting perspiration'. The text of Galen is as follows: [νγ' Περὶ ἀποκόνου.] 'Απόκυνον κυνοκράμβη. καλοῦσι δ' ἔνοι καὶ κυνόμορον αὐτὴν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τοὺς κύνας ἀναιρεῖ, καθάπερ τὸ λυκοκτόνον τοὺς λύκους. ἔστι δὲ ἀνθρώπων δηλητήριον, ἵκανῶς δυσώδης πόνος, διὸ καὶ θερμὴ πάντως ἔστιν οὐκ ἀγεννῶς, οὐ μὴν ἀνάλογόν γε ξηρά. διὰ τοῦτ' οὖν καὶ καταπλαστικόν εἶχαν ὡς διαφορητικῆς ἔστι δυνάμεως.

Plutarch's line of thought is now clear. It is very likely that he knew of this medical prescription and assumed that it had been used in ancient Sparta. This prescription mentioned θερμὴ πάντως ἔστιν οὐκ ἀγεννῶς, and so gave a plausible explanation of the Spartan custom, for in winter heat is required and this is provided by κυνοκράμβη. I will not enter into the question that λυκοκτόνον in Galen has to be equated with λυκόφρονες in Plutarch. Still, it seems absurd to credit a sort of stuffing for a mattress, made up of certain herbs, with the same effect as an ointment (καταπλαστικόν) in which these

¹ Galen, vol. XI, p. 835 (ed. Kühn) and Dioscorides 4,77, ed. Wellman, vol. II, p. 238, 8 ff.

same herbs are used. Moreover, a remedy for promoting perspiration seems altogether different from the stuffing of a mattress intended to produce a comfortable warmth. We have here an example of Plutarch's habit of associating different things which have one property in common, expressed here by the terms θερμή (Gal.) and θερμαντικόν τι (Plut.)¹.

b. *System of the ἔρασται*: XVII, 1 and XVIII, 8-9

Bethe's notorious article attempting to prove that Spartan society officially sanctioned pederasty was based on a generalization of certain pornographic inscriptions dating from the seventh century (IG, XII, 3, p. 536 ff)².

It is obvious that such aberrations occurred in the Spartan barrack-life. In no community of males so closely knit together as in Sparta are such excesses quite avoidable, but that does not imply that the state encouraged homosexual proclivities. We should no more be justified in drawing general social conclusions from the modern inscriptions found in public places of convenience.

Aristotle emphatically contrasts Sparta with Crete. About Sparta he says: βουλόμενος γάρ ὁ νομοθέτης ὡς πλείστους είναι τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, προάγεται τοὺς πολίτας ὅτι πλείστους

¹ On p. 237 ff. we dealt with another example of Plutarch's being influenced by medical literature.

² Bethe, *Die dorische Knabenliebe, ihre Ethik und ihre Idee*, RM, LXII, 1907, p. 438-486, opposed by Semonov, *Zur dorischen Knabenliebe*, Philol., LXX, 1911, p. 146 ff., and Ruppersberg, *Ἑλοννήσος*, *ibid.*, p. 131 ff. Nilsson, *Grundlagen des spartanischen Lebens*, Klio, XII, 1912, p. 333 (*Opuscula selecta II*, p. 859). Kroll in P-W, s.v. Knabenliebe.

Bethe's theory has been resumed by Jeanmaire, *Couroi et Courètes*, diss. Paris 1939, p. 450, but was convincingly refuted by Marrou, *op.cit.*, p. 55 ff., part. p. 479, note 10, where further literature is given. In view of Onians' results (*op. cit.*, p. 119, note 14) Bethe's view that *Ἑλοννήσος* refers to physical intercourse is highly acceptable.

ποιεῖσθαι παιδας (*Politics* II 9, 1270 b 1). With regard to Crete he remarks: πρὸς τὴν διάζευξιν τῶν γυναικῶν, ἵνα μὴ πολυτεχνᾶσι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρρενας ποιήσας δμαλλαν. Aristotle's attitude leaves no doubt. Although in favour of birth-control he rejects the expedient mentioned.

Plutarch is not concerned with the subject of pederasty. In XVII, 1 he deals with sports clubs which bring twelve year-old boys together under the charge of εὐδοκίμοι νέοι to whom they pay homage. Lycurgus is not mentioned in this connection. In this respect, too, Plutarch dissociates the Spartan educational system from the law-giver. Xenophon differs in both respects: Lycurgus was the founder of the system of the ἔρασται and, so he says, the system was quite innocent of sexual implications. (*Xen. Lac. Resp.* II, 13: Ο δὲ Λυκούργος ἐναντία καὶ τούτοις πᾶσι γνοὺς εἰ μέν τις αὐτὸς ὁν οἷον δεῖ ἀγασθεῖς ψυχὴν παιδὸς πειρῶτο ἀμεμπτον φίλον ἀποτελέσσασθαι καὶ συνεῖναι, ἐπῆνει καὶ καλλίστην παιδειαν ταῦτην ἐνόμιζεν εἰ δέ τις παιδὸς σώματος ὀρεγόμενος φανεῖη, αἰσχιστον τοῦτο θεῖς ἐποίησεν ἐν Λακεδαιμονι μηδὲν ἡττον ἔραστας παιδιῶν ἀπέγεισθαι ἡ γονεῖς παιδῶν καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ἀδελφῶν εἰς ἀφροδίσια ἀπέχονται.

Xenophon continues with an allusion to what seems to be sanctioned in other states, but in respect of Sparta he stresses the harmless nature. His reply coupled with Aristotle's evidence and Plutarch's reticence puts Bethe in the wrong, but Xenophon's remark about his opponents, τὸ μέντοι ταῦτα ἀπιστεῖσθαι ὑπό τινων οὐ θαυμάζω, holds good to the present day. The doubts about Xenophon's words are in no small degree caused by his exaggeration. That in a military state like Sparta homosexuality should have been unknown is highly improbable. It is not surprising that this exaggerated apology made Xenophon's opponents doubt whether the general picture corresponded with reality. I do not think these doubts were justified.

Although nowadays most historians reject Bethe's proofs as inadequate, even the most recent literature does not present

a *communis opinio* on the subject. This is shown by the two latest monographs on Sparta. Michell regards pederasty as an almost universal practice in the ancient world and suggests that Xenophon, who with Plutarch is our leading authority on Spartan customs, distorted the facts for apologetic purposes. Moreover, the subject to Michell is taboo. 'This aspect of Greek morals is an extraordinary one into which, for the sake of our own equanimity, it is not profitable to pry too closely'¹. Miss Chrimes had already tacitly followed this advice before it was given². To her the subject is also evidently taboo. But she sets great store by Xenophon's statement to the extent that she finds in his words a reflection of conditions prevailing centuries later: a feudal system in which boys of the lower classes are educated by young men of noble family³. Her words about Xenophon's Greek critics – 'It was natural that other Greeks who did not agree with this point of view should take a cynical view of the Spartan practice' – may be applied to her own theory and its future critics. A cynicism of this kind inevitably calls forth generalizing remarks like those of Bethe, but it is foreign to objective historical research. It reveals however the influence of subjective factors in such research.

With regard to Xenophon, we cannot deny his apologetic intentions, but his remarks do present this historical fact, that Sparta attempted to divert the natural impulses of young men in the barrack-life to military and sportive solidarity. In this, Sparta in one period succeeded better than in others.

That Plutarch refrained from controversy does not imply that he was one of the *τύποι* meant by Xenophon, and this

¹ Michell, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

² Chrimes, *op. cit.*, p. 223 ff.

³ On this feudal custom occurring in Sparta in the time of the Roman empire Nilsson rightly remarks: 'früher findet sie sich nicht und scheint auch kaum denkbar' (*Opuscula selecta*, II, p. 1058). Cf. my review of Chrimes' book in *Mnem.*, Q.S., IV, p. 182 ff., part, p. 183.

follows from XVIII, 9: amongst women, too, there were cases of ἐρασταί and ἐρώμεναι. I should like to emphasize the following three points.

1. The remark is characteristic for a society of men: women follow the men's example. Psychological intimacy and infatuation with older women by girls are not mentioned but undoubtedly these were as old as a youth's admiration for a stronger, older friend.

2. Considering that these opinions are given by men, it is not possible that homosexuality among women should have gone uncondemned. The attitude against women is very rigorous and in Herondas' time (VI, 24-25) homosexuality is practised only in secret. Presumably Plutarch would have offered a comment here if something physical had been meant.

3. Plutarch, sharing the opinions of Xenophon and Aristotle, sees no reason for interfering in an ethical controversy not connected with his subject.

c. *The Ephabetic Organization: XVII, 2-4 (cf. XVI, 7-8)*

According to Plutarch a παιδονόμος, one of the older men, is the chief leader in the education of the boys (XVII, 2), although all Spartans take an active part in this work (XVI, 9 and XVII, 1). The boys are grouped according to ἀγέλαι and θαλ¹, the latter probably being a subdivision of the former (XVI, 13) but in the case of boys under twelve only ἀγέλαι are mentioned (XVI, 7), presumably because the classification of the very young was not on military lines, since they did not need to be trained in small groups².

The ἀγέλη is under the command of an εἵρην (or ιρήν)³,

¹ Literature on ἀγέλη and θαλ is given by Swoboda in Busolt-Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*, p. 696 ff. Swoboda mentions and reviews the older literature.

² Contra Busolt-Swoboda, *loc. cit.*

³ One may find ιρήν ιρήν, εἱρήν, εἰρήνη, ιραν, Φιραν (see Macan *ad Hrdt.* IX, 85).

both in the case of the older boys (XVII, 2) and in that of the juniors. On the latter Plutarch remarks (XVI, 8): ἄρχοντα δ' αὐτοῖς παρίσταντο τῆς ἀγέλης τὸν τῷ φρονεῖν διαφέροντα καὶ θυμοτιθέστατον ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀφεώρων καὶ προστάττοντος ἡκροῶντο, καὶ κολάζοντος ἐκαρτέρουν.

These qualities are hardly to be expected in youths under twelve, and imply that the leader does not belong to this age-group¹. The second and more important stage starts from the age of twelve (XVI, 12–XVIII). This is the actual 'ephebia' and for the next years the boys are divided in separate age-groups. This is the meaning of the following text, usually but wrongly – as we shall see presently² – regarded as a gloss on Herodotus IX, 85³:

Ἐιρήν· παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἑναυτῷ δὲ παις φωβίδας καλεῖται, τῷ δευτέρῳ προχομῷδιμενος, τῷ τρίτῳ μικιζόμενος, τῷ τετάρτῳ πρόποις, τῷ πεντητῷ παις, τῷ ἑκτῷ μελλείρην. Ἐφηβεῖς δὲ δὲ παις ἀπὸ ἑτῶν δεκατεσσάρων μέχρι εἰκοσι.

The words do not state the point from which the first year is to be counted. Hence three possibilities are left: the names were given to male Spartans

a during the first six years of their life;

b during the first years of the state education, *i.e.* according to Plutarch after their seventh year;

c during the years of their second training, *i.e.* according to Plutarch after the twelfth year.

Excavations in Sparta have brought to light inscriptions mentioning these names or variations of them. They all date from the Roman empire and appear on little metal sticks

¹ Moreover I believe that Παρίσταντο (XVI, 8) means: 'They (the Spartans) set alongside them' or 'in company with them' (sc. as leaders of the boys of 7–12 years). In XVII, 2 we find Προ-ίσταντο; in this case the *εἰρήνη* is chosen from among the group itself.

² See p. 288 ff.

³ This text is found in the Λέξις 'Ηροδότου', published in 1871 by Stein in his edition of Herodotus (II, p. 465). His suggestion that the text comes from Aristophanes of Byzantium and so dates from the IIIrd or IIInd century B.C. seems plausible.

which were the prizes in the boys' musical and athletic contests. As infants in arms obviously could not take part in these competitions¹ most modern scholars have rejected the hypothetical case under *a*. They choose *b* and assume that the 'ephebia' followed after the six year-groups mentioned.

In one of the most convincing paragraphs of her book *Ancient Sparta* Miss Chrimes has preferred the hypothesis under *c*², on the ground that the words ἐφηβεῖς δὲ κτλ. summarize the preceding statement. Her argument convinced Woodward who himself had made the principal contribution for the *cumminis opinio*³. Neither of them, however, refers to a 1941 publication which in my view solves the problem definitely along the lines recommended by Miss Chrimes. It deals with a variation of the so-called gloss on Herodotus as preserved in the oldest Strabo manuscript⁴:

εἰρήν μελλείρην, παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ μέλλων εἰρήν ἔσεσθαι.
ἐφηβεῖς μὲν γάρ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ παῖς ἐπ' (sic, perhaps ἀπ') ἔτων τόδε μέχρι κτλ. καλεῖται δὲ τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ φωβίδας, τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ προκομιζόμενος, τῷ τρίτῳ μικρόμενος, τῷ δὲ πρόπαις, τῷ εἰς παῖς, τῷ τέταρτῳ, τῷ τέταρτον, τῷ τέταρτην.

¹ The ninth edition of Liddell and Scott (Stuart Jones and McKenzie) unfortunately still chooses the solution under *a*, although Nilsson's objections raised in 1912 and repeated by Swoboda in 1926 render it impossible. Most scholars since have adopted the solution under *b*, e.g. Woodward (but see note 3 below), Bourguet, *Le dialecte laconien*, p. 103 ff., 117, Jeanmaire, *Courroi et Courêtes*, pp. 499–512.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 86–95.

³ Woodward chose the solution under *b*, in Dawkins, *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia*, Suppl. Pap. no. 5 of the Journal of Hellenic studies, London, 1929, p. 285–353; cf. index 418–419. In his penetrating review of Miss Chrimes' work he appears to have been convinced by her (*Historia*, I, 4, 1950, published in 1952, p. 617–618).

⁴ 'A gloss on Herodotus' (but see p. 288 ff.), a lexicographical note on the words on -ήν in the oldest manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, from the Xth century, the note being of a later date, XIVth or XVth century) of Strabo's Geography. The note was published by Diller, *A new source of the Spartan Ephobia*, *AJP*, LXII, 1941, pp. 499 ff. Cf. p. 291, note 1 below.

Here the text could not be interpreted in any other way than Miss Chrimes proposed for the passage in the Λέξεις. 'Ἐφηβεῖς μὲν κτλ. indicates that the ephebia is being discussed. The words καλεῖται δὲ κτλ. then enumerate the classes of the ephebia. Greek idiom permits an interpretation of the passage from the Λέξεις which agrees with that in the Strabo manuscript. But the opposite is not the case. Therefore it is not, in my opinion, permissible to say that no importance need be attached to 'l'ordre de particules aussi banales que μὲν δὲ'¹. On what grounds do Marrou and others maintain the old interpretation which I believe to have become untenable after the publication of the Strabo gloss?

Marrou, Billheimer and Nilsson² unanimously regard it as impossible that boys of 16, 17 and 18 years should have been called μωχόμενος (derived from μωρός), πρόπαις or παις. Marrou in this connection refers to the childish names given in the present-day scout movement to boys of the age between 7 and 12. This parallel does not hold. If we want a modern parallel for the Spartan military Agoge and its rigorous physical training we should rather look to customs still present in the university life in some countries. The first-year student has a hard time of it before he is admitted to his 'fraternity' and during the freshman period is called not a 'very little boy' but a 'foetus'. The senior student who assists him, sometimes rather roughly, as a mentor is called his 'dad' and he himself is addressed by 'dad' as his 'son'. Even in after years the senior student proudly relates the

¹ Marrou, *Les classes d'âge de la jeunesse spartiate*, REA, XLVIII, 1946, p. 216-230, partic. 224. Besides Marrou, Nilsson, *Opuscula selecta*, II, p. 1057 and Billheimer, *Age classes in Spartan education*, TAPA, LXXVIII, 1947, p. 99-114 maintain the view that πεφίδας etc. also meant the boys in the first period of the state education (from 7 to 13 year). Michell in *Sparta*, p. 170, with some hesitation takes Diller's side.

² Marrou, *op. cit.*, p. 225, Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 1058, Billheimer, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

exploits of his 'son' although the latter by now may himself have young students for 'sons'.

I do not claim conclusive force for this parallel, but it certainly is more to the point than that of the modern scout movement. Just like the Spartan *ἀγέλαι*, the student associations are anything but lenient¹. The freshman is put through a stage in which the hardships call for a real Spartan attitude and till his acceptance into the student society he is of no importance; the nickname 'foetus' should make him realize this. Possibly the Spartan names were also part of the 'ragging' process.

The origin of the use of *παιᾶς* for a year-group of the ephebia may be explained in the above manner. The name *παιᾶς* also occurs in the Athenian ephebia. The Athenian inscriptions speak of the young men of eighteen to twenty inclusive as *παιᾶς τῆς πρώτης, δευτέρας, τρίτης ἡλικίας*². The literary sources show that the words *ἔφηβοι* and *παιᾶς* gradually came to be used as synonyms without any difference³, but it would not be correct to use the later meaning of *παιᾶς* as an argument for the opinion that *παιᾶς* is the normal word indi-

¹ The fact is often overlooked that in primitive societies the so-called 'Altersklasse' has a religious meaning and only those with a classicist bias will cavil at a comparison of the archaic Greek community with that of primitive tribes. Van der Leeuw rightly says: 'Das Prinzip der Differenzierung ist die Zugehörigkeit zu einer bestimmten Lebensphase, den Kindern, den jungen Leuten, den Alten. Die Altersklasse hat eine eigene Mächtigkeit, die sich mit andern Mächten nicht verträgt und zur Differenzierung drängt Auch heute hat die Gruppenordnung eines Bauerdorfes einen religiösen Anstrich' (*op. cit.*, p. 233-234). It is this very religious background that enables us to understand the trouble and pain willingly paid as a price for admission into the next class.

² Chrimes, *op. cit.*, p. 93. An excellent lexicographical study of the word *παιᾶς* is given by Oepke, *s.v.* *παιᾶς* in Kittel-Friedrich, *Theol. Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, Bd. V, Lief. 10, 1952, p. 636 ff.

³ This is shown by Plutarch's and ps.-Plutarch's work. In *Lyc.* XVIII, 2 the victims of the rite at Orthia's altar are called *ἔφηβοι*, but in *Inst. Lac.* 239 C *παιᾶς* (see further Chrimes, *op. cit.*, p. 93, note 2).

cating youths of 18. We should assume an evolution in which the derisive meaning of the word, originating in the phraseology of the Agoge in Sparta and elsewhere, was replaced by the common parlance which made it equivalent with ἔφηβος¹.

This evolution did not escape the Spartan *paidonomoi*. They invented other and related words which preserved the derisive sense of the older names. The Spartan inscriptions from the imperial period use the expressions πρατοπάμπαις and ἀτροπάμπαις. The suffixes ἀτρο- and πρατο- are generally interpreted as second and first², and the names themselves are said to connote 'a boy in his first (second) year of boyhood'³. This makes πρατοπάμπαις and ἀτροπάμπαις synonymous with πρόπαις and παῖς. For this change in the designation no explanation is given. I venture to suggest that these compounds of πάμπαις, which elsewhere⁴ is found with the meaning of 'a child in every respect', were used in the imperial period, when old customs were restored, to replace the obsolete words παῖς and πρόπαις.

Marrou's suggestion that by πρατοπάμπαις and ἀτροπάμπαις are meant twelve and thirteen-year old youths is not convincing. In the first place, he drops the name παῖς for one class, which conflicts with the gloss. Secondly, his argument that a πρό-παις cannot be called πρατο-παις is ingenious but of little value because, if our conjecture is right, the change of names is that from παῖς into πάμπαις (this in view of the

¹ The etymology shows that originally the word undoubtedly meant 'small children'. 'Παῖς (eigtl. παῖς, auf Vasen παῦς, von √pōu pau, pu: gering, wenig, vgl. pauper, paucus, parvus, paulus, puer, pusus, pusillus, puella)': Oepke, ThWNT, V, p. 637.

² A different explanation suggested by Kretschmer (Glotta, III, p. 269 ff.) is that ἀτρο- is connected with ἀτρός (ἀτρός: ripe), cf. Nilsson, Klio, XII, 1912, p. 309, (= *Opuscula selecta*, II, 828, note 6). With this explanation as with the current one, ἀτρος = ἀτρος, the πρατο-πάμπαις is younger than the ἀτροπάμπαις.

³ Woodward, in *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia*, p. 220.

⁴ In Boeotia and Chalcis. Cf. Marrou, *art. cit.*, p. 226, who discusses the relevant literature.

apparent uselessness of the word *παῖς* which no longer had the exclusive connotation of 'a small child').

The question, however, is whether the equation of *πρατοπάμπαις* and *ἀτροπάμπαις* with *πρόπαις* and *παῖς* is actually correct. In that case we should expect *προτερο-* instead of *πρατο-* as a prefix¹. If the identification be reversed by making *ἀτροπάμπαις* a synonym of *πρόπαις* (cf. *second* lieutenant) and *πρατοπάμπαις* of *παῖς*, then the prefix *πρατο-* can be explained. The 'first' of the two kinds of *πάμπαιδες* is not only the elder of the two (in which case here too *προτερο-* should have been used, and my suggestion would have encountered the same objections as the current identification), but also the first in rank. So the prefix *πρατο-* does not indicate a sequence but rank. This conjecture finds a support in the fact that the *εἰρενες* from their twentieth birthday on were called *πρωτεῖραι* (or perhaps we should read *πρωτεῖρενες*): 'irenes-chief'².

The gloss combined with the epigraphic data provides the following list:

14th year *βωβίδας*

15th year *προκομιζόμενος*

16th year *μικιζόμενος* (and its variants in the inscriptions)

17th year *πρόπαις* = *ἀτροπάμπαις*

18th year *παῖς* = *πρατοπάμπαις*

19th year *μελλείρην* 20th year *εῖρην*

The derivation of *βωβίδας* is uncertain³. For *προκομι-*

¹ As Marrou, *op. cit.*, p. 227, note 1, rightly remarks. According to the gloss in the age classes a distinction is made between first and second year pupils of the same name by the use of *προ*. Hence *πρόπαις* and *παῖς* (and according the current conjecture, see p. 255, *προμικιζόμενος* and *μικιζόμενος*).

² Photius, *s.v.* *κατὰ πρωτεῖρας*. *Πρωτεῖραι* οἱ περὶ εἴκοσι ἐτη παρὰ Λέκουσι.

³ Chrimes, *op. cit.*, p. 92, note 1: 'βάννυμι? Cf. also Lat. *robur*', seems fantastic. Baunack's interpretation (Philol., LXX, 1911, p. 367) which is sometimes adopted (*βωβίδας* = *βαβίδας*, a patronymic from *βοῦς*, 'a protégé of the bull-god') seems highly uncertain, although it has the support of Bourguet, *op. cit.*, p. 103-104.

ζόμενος usually, on the analogy of πρόποαι, προμηκιζόμενος is read. This generally accepted amendment is doubtful, to say the least of it, and I believe it to be responsible for a detail of the Spartan Agoge having been overlooked. In the second stage of the state education a distinction is made between the first two year-classes and the older pupils. Not till their second year are the former presented (*προκομίζειν*) to the older Spartans. After that they are regarded as 'very little boys', and the first step has been taken on the road to adolescence. Only now they may appear in public and take part in the contests organized for the senior classes. This also explains the problem why the commemorative inscriptions mention μικιζόμενοι (and variations of this word) and nothing junior to that grade. The 14th and 15th year are devoted to preparatory work. Only at the age of 15 (*i.e.* after his 15th birthday) the young Spartan is admitted to the competitions.

My reconstruction differs in some of the details from that of Miss Chrimes; but this does not alter the essential point in her interpretation of the gloss in the Strabo manuscript or Diller's suggestions in that respect. The point is that the names βωβίδας etc. refer to the ephebic training and not to the years of the small boy's education from his seventh to his twelfth year¹. Two important arguments derived from the epigraphic material support this interpretation, summarized by Woodward as follows: 'a boy-victor who describes himself as συνέφηβος to another boy is seen to be using the term in the literal sense of the word ἔφηβος, whereas it was not easy to explain how a μικιζόμενος, if ten years old, could claim such a title; and further, the old view that the boys' contests were limited to boys of 8 to 13 left us with practically no records of the Epheboi taking part – as they must have done – in similar activities as part of their training'².

We have interpreted the gloss to the effect that the young

¹ For the 13th year see my suggestion on p. 258 f.

² Woodward, in *Historia*, I, 1950, p. 617–618.

Spartan from his 19th birthday takes the name of εἰρηνή. But not every εἰρηνή becomes a chief. This may be seen also in Xenophon (*Lac. Resp.* 2, 11): ἔθηκε (sc. Lycurgus) τῆς θύης ἐκάστης τὸν τορώτατον τῶν εἰρένων ἄρχειν.

In other words, a selection is made from the εἰρενεῖς. The same thing is found in Plutarch (XVII, 2): προίσταντο τῶν λεγομένων εἰρένων ἀεὶ τὸν σωφρονέστατον καὶ μαχιμώτατον.

But in Plutarch's succeeding words we are faced with a problem (XVII, 3): εἰρεναῖς δὲ καλοῦσι τοὺς ἔτος ἡδη δεύτερον ἐκ παιδῶν γεγονότας, μελλείρεναῖς δὲ τῶν παιδῶν τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους. οὗτος οὖν ὁ εἰρηνή εἰκοσιν ἔτη γεγονώς, ἄρχει τε τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, καὶ κατ' οἶκον ὑπηρέταις χρῆται πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον.

The part of this statement that the εἰρηνή-*age* follows two years after the παιδεῖ-*age* agrees with the gloss. But the statement that the μελλείρηνή is the oldest of the παιδεῖς does not so agree, unless with Busolt-Swoboda¹ we take the word παιδεῖ in παιδῶν τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους in a general sense (= ἔφηβος), and in ἐκ παιδῶν in the technical sense of boys in their 18th year. Quite possibly ἐκ παιδῶν had the same technical meaning as 'post-graduate'². Miss Chrimes has presented a different solution³. She rightly points out that ἔτος δεύτερον ἐκ παιδῶν 'could equally well mean, according to the normal Greek usage, the *next* year after boyhood'. This interpretation seems the most acceptable, because it gives the word παιδεῖ in XVII, 2-3 the same general meaning (= ἔφηβος) on each occasion and agrees with Plutarch's vocabulary. But both interpretations are satisfactory, and they conclusively dispose of the view that the gloss is at variance with Plutarch's words.

¹ Busolt-Swoboda, *op. cit.*, p. 696, note 2.

² See p. 252, note 3. Diller is therefore wrong when he says: 'Plutarch's remark about μελλείρεναῖς must be inaccurate since they would already be ἐκ παιδῶν' (p. 501). True, the μελλείρεναῖς are ἐκ παιδῶν (that is if παιδεῖ is taken as a technical name for one year class), but they are also τῶν παιδῶν (= ἔφηβων) τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους according to the gloss in the Λέξεις.

³ Chrimes, *op. cit.*, p. 89. Cf. Herod. I, 82: δευτέρη ημέρη i.e. on the *next* day.

The word *εἰρην* in the gloss is linked with a certain age-group, but Plutarch's words suggest that the name was not restricted to young men in their twentieth year. When Plutarch says: 'This *εἰρην* when he reaches the age of twenty is made a leader', it does not mean that *all εἰρενες* should become leaders¹. Within the ephebia the last years evidently show the following development. After the eighteenth birthday the Spartans are subjected to a fresh training lasting, for most of them, three years. In the first year they are called *μελλείρενες* while pupils of the second and third year are called *εἰρενες*. The third year pupils are no longer *ephebes*² but have reached adult age (*vide* the Strabo gloss). Nevertheless they should not put on airs: for one year they retain the name given them in the last stage of adolescence, and even the best amongst them who become leaders of the *ephebes* still go by this name. This explains why *εἰρενες* connotes both an age-group – *i.e.* those of 19 and 20 years, the latter of whom possibly are called *πρωτείρενες* – and the chiefs of the younger age-groups (perhaps those only were called *πρωτείρενες*). The name *τριτίρενες* found in tradition (IG, V, 1, 1386, from Thuria) was perhaps the name for these youth-leaders in some regions. Evidently in Thuria the numerical method was followed, whereas Sparta, as is shown by *πρωτο-*, preferred a qualifying system on the analogy of *πρατοπάμπαις*.

This gives the following table³:

¹ So already Nilsson, *Klio*, XII, 1912, p. 310 and Marrou, *op. cit.*, p. 219. This does not imply that we should accept Marrou's conclusion that *εἰρενες* is the name for the *έφηβοι* of all year-classes.

² The name *παρέρηθος* (IG, XII, 3, 339, 340 from Thera) might in some parts have been the name for young men of this year class: 'ex-*ephebes*'. Cf. Forbes, *ΠΑΡΕΦΗΒΟΣ*, CP, XXXVIII, 1943, p. 45f.

³ Michell, *op. cit.*, p. 171, goes too far when on the example of Beloch (*Bevölkerung*, p. 148) he calls the various classes from 19 to 24 *εἰρην*, *πρωτείρην*, *διαίρην*, *τριτείρην*, *τεττείρην* and *πεντείρην*. In the first place these names with the exception of the first two and the fourth are conjectural. Secondly, the suffix *πρωτο-* in *πρωτείρην* is not satisfactorily explained if, as obviously is the

Sparta	Thuria
μελλείρην	?
εἵρην	εἵρην
πρωτείρην	τριτείρην (τριττείρης)

In view of the great continuity in the training, resulting from the men's active interest and the supervision by the *παιδονόμος*, there is no objection to the *εἵρην*, appointed as youth-leader, remaining in office for only one year. This ensures a system of rotation with the result that in each year-class would be found young citizens who had officiated as youth-leaders.

This explanation purposely disregards two passages which are often connected with the problem of the *Eirenia*, *viz.* Plut. *Lyc.* XXV, 1 and Herod. IX, 85. The former, excluding men under thirty from the *ἀγορά*, does not deal with civil rights but with economic duties: *ἀγορά* here means the market, not the assembly: *οἱ μέν γε νεώτεροι τριάκοντ' ἔτῶν τὸ παράπαν οὐ κατέβαινον εἰς ἀγοράν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ τῶν ἔραστῶν ἐποιοῦντο τὰς ἀναγκαῖας οἰκονομίας*. Youth should be kept well away from the evil influence attending, in Spartan opinion, inferior commerce. In Herodotus IX, 85 *ἱένας* (-*ες*) is inserted in the text *per conjecturam*. I believe it demonstrable that the text of the manuscript *ἱέας* (-*ες*) can be retained and linked with another passage from the *Life of Lycurgus*¹.

If at the close of the ephebia we find the *εἵρην* who in the first year of manhood, his twenty-first year², retains the name *εἵρην*, it may be assumed that the boys in the first year of adolescence, their fourteenth year, go by the name which they had borne in their thirteenth year. Here, too, the retention case, it has a numerical meaning, in spite of the fact that one year as *εἵρην* has passed already.

¹ Cf. p. 289 ff.

² Miss Chrimes is undoubtedly right in asserting that *εἴχοντες* *ἔτη γεγονός* (mark the perfect participle) can have no other meaning but 'in his twenty-first year'. So also Marrou, *art. cit.*, p. 219: 'celui qui était âgé de vingt ans'. Michell, *op. cit.*, p. 171, note 1, differs (Cf. p. 257, note 3).

of the old name during the new phase of life might be seen as an attempt to make the boys realize that they are one with the juniors and should not show pride in having reached a new age-group. The equality in names for boys of 12 and of 13 possibly was connected with their physical growth (which obviously does not apply to the *εἰρηνες*). The Spartan system perhaps took into account differences in physical development amongst the juniors and so provided for a gradual transition from the one stage to the next, although neither the gloss nor Plutarch have retained any traces of this. If boys after their twelfth birthday were already called *βωβίδαις* it must have caused confusion, giving rise to the opinion that the second phase, that of the *ephebia*, started from the twelfth instead of the thirteenth year. This might explain Plutarch in *Lyc.* XVI, 7 and 12 speaking of *ἐπταετεῖς γενομένους* and *γενόμενοι δωδεκαετεῖς*, thereby giving to understand that the second phase begins at the age of 12 or in the 13th year of life. But the question is whether in this way we do not read too much into Plutarch's words. The increased frugality referred to in XVI, 12 need not point to a new phase beginning at the age of twelve, but may be regarded equally well as a preparation for the more rigorous system that was to follow the year after.

Moreover, confusion might have been intensified by the ancient usage which attaches to *ἐπταετεῖς* (*δωδεκαετεῖς*) *γενόμενοι* the meaning both of '7 (12) years of age' (in the 8th or 13th year) and of 'in the 7th (or 12th) year of life'. The first meaning was chosen above on the strength of the fact (which, however, is not conclusive) that *εἰκοσιν ἔτη γεγονάς* – which permits of no other interpretation – provides a definite point in the chronology of the Spartan agoge. If then we count back from the 21st year according to the interpretations given to the ancient sources, we arrive at the 8th and the 13th year of life. All the same, we do well to remember Marrou's admonition: 'la chronologie de l'éducation spartiate ne peut être établie qu'avec une année d'approximation'¹.

¹ See Marrou, *loc. cit.*

Xenophon, who refers to the Agoge in his *Lacedaemoniorum Respublica*, gives only vague particulars and his terminology does not help us to understand the classes of the ephebic organization. He calls the youngest of the boys, *viz.* those of 7 years and upwards, *παιδες* (II). It may be thought that he would call the ephebes *μειράκια*, because he speaks next of the stage *ὅταν ἐκ παιδῶν εἰς τὸ μειράκιοῦσθαι ἐκβαίνωσι* (III), but subsequently he joins both groups under the name of *παιδίσκοι* (III, 5). Plutarch also says of the boys that after their twelfth year they were allowed to wear only one garment (XVI, 12). Xenophon says the same about the small boys (that is if his names have any technical value, which seems very doubtful). Finally, in IV, Xenophon mentions means of encouraging competition amongst the young men, whom he calls *ἥβωντες*. The meagre result is that he neither confirms nor contradicts the data of the gloss or of Plutarch¹.

Plutarch, we may conclude, was not concerned with details, but he gave an excellent exposition of the main items. We understand why of the progressive steps of the ephebia he only deals with the stage of the youth leaders. The system culminates, so to speak, in the *Eirenia*.

Kessler in his study of the sources made a distinction at the beginning of XVIII. Because XVI, 8, where Sphaerus of Olbia was probably the source, mentions already the supervision of youths, XVII sq. is said to present a doublet from another source. He also thinks it strange that the principal man in charge, the *παιδονόμος*, is not mentioned till XVII, 2. Even if repetition exists, the question is whether this repetition

¹ For *μειράκιον* we may refer to Hippocrates' definition in *De Hebdomad.* 5 (Littré, VIII, p. 636) according to which the period from 14 to 21 is called that of the *μειράκια*. Billheimer attempted to wrest a technical meaning from the word *ἥβωντες*, and argued that a youth became a *ἥβων* with his twentieth year. For Xenophon this technical distinction must be rejected in both cases. With regard to Billheimer, Michell, apart from the application of these special meaning, rightly remarks: 'It seems almost impossible to come to a conclusion on the point' (*op. cit.*, p. 170, note 4).

justifies such far-reaching conclusions. An author should be given free scope in his composition. Plutarch would have been a duffer indeed not to notice that when starting on his so-called second source, he was only going to tell what he had just copied from a preceding source. We should always start with the assumption that we are dealing with a reasonably sensible man, and Plutarch's work amply testifies that he was no duffer.

Moreover, there is no question of a needless repetition. Chapter XVI, 8 deals with the education of *small* boys and XVII, 1 with that of the older pupils. The second passage starts in XVI, 12: *γενόμενοι δὲ δωδεκαετεῖς κτλ.*, and the treatment of these older boys is once more expressly indicated by *τηλικούτοις* and *καὶ μᾶλλον* (XVII, 1). The *διγέλη* then deals with two methods of training.

If, following the example of Busolt-Swoboda, we treat together the training of smaller and that of older boys a double mistake is made. Plutarch is not read accurately and a judgment is passed on 'youth movements', resembling that of a blind man on colours. Whatever our opinion of the Spartan system, there is no denying its sound construction. And assuming that mankind, particularly youth, has changed little in essentials through the ages, we may conclude with certainty that to put together boys of 7 to 12 and of 13 to 18 would be a system doomed to failure. Only by providing suitable stages may educators hope to attain their goal. So it was in Sparta, and so Plutarch describes it for us.

*d. 'Theft' of Cheeses,
A Spartan Rite and its Mythical Background:*

XVII, 5-XVIII, 2

As we have seen, Plutarch in the Life of Lycurgus has handed down various details of the Spartan educational system, which are of considerable antiquity. The aim of these

ancient customs is not only the promotion of military fitness but also the cultivation of mutual friendship and solidarity. The unifying force in the background is, in Sparta and elsewhere, essentially religious, as is clearly shown in some of the details offered by Plutarch. A curious example is the 'theft' which Spartan boys had to commit.

I shall not dwell on Plutarch's explanation of the boys' strange behaviour nor on his philosophical comments, which show little understanding of this custom, but shall confine myself to his factual information. This may be summed up in these three points:

1. the theft is committed at the expense not of strangers but of older members of the community;
2. he who commits the theft without proper precaution against detection is punished by flogging and starving;
3. the theft relates only to food and the requirements for preparing it, e.g. kindlings (XVII, 4 ff.).

The results of the recent religious-historical investigations have made it clear that 'theft', as a ritual act of primitive religious consciousness and unhampered by moral blame, means: to steal vitality, to appropriate other people's physical strength¹.

When the factual data from Plutarch are viewed against the background of the religious meaning of the theft, then the object of the act of the Spartan boys – it is only the boys who steal, never adults – is: the appropriation of the vitality of the strong. The men's food, consumed at their public repasts, and the fruits of their own fields, have the owner's vital power in them. Stealing them is therefore a serious task and failure entails punishment.

The life of the community had to be preserved. How should one go about it? Spartan society, like many other primitive

¹ That the stealing of cheeses from the altar of the goddess Orthia, handed down by Xenophon, had a religious meaning has been clearly explained by Rose, *Greek Rites of Stealing*, Harv. Theol. Rev., XXXIV, 1941, p. 1–5.

communities, formulated this momentous question as follows: How can the men's vitality remain the possession of the community? Various answers were given, one being, as we have seen (p. 217), to compel the men to utilize their procreative power, their γενναῖον σπέρμα, to the best advantage.

Another might have been: make the growing male members of the community try to appropriate the men's physical strength by stealing the source of this strength, the food. In a modern way of speaking we should say: let the boys partake of the men's repast. But this would not meet the requirements. The boy had to 'steal' a particular man's portion so that the strength of this very man might be transferred to him. The warrior could no more transfer, of his own free will, his strength to a younger man than an older man at his death could transfer his strength by making a gift of it to somebody else. In this manner the problem of the continuity of the community was faced and the theft was considered to be its ritual solution.

One of the best known and also of the most notorious passages dealing with the stealing by the Spartan boys has been handed down by Xenophon¹, *Lac. Resp.* II, 9. With regard to Lycurgus it says:

καὶ ὡς πλείστους δὴ ἀρπάσαι τυροὺς παρ' Ορθίας καλὸν θεῖς,
μαστιγοῦν τούτους ἄλλοις ἐπέταξε, τοῦτο δὴ δηλῶσαι καὶ ἐν
τούτῳ βουλόμενος, διὰ ἔστιν ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀλγήσαντα πολὺν
χρόνον εὐδοκιμοῦντα εὐφραίνεσθαι.

'And while he ruled that it should be accounted honorable to snatch as many cheeses as possible from Orthia, he ordered

¹ It is unnecessary for me to prove that there is no reason why this passage should be deemed to be spurious or an interpolation and therefore to be bracketed as is done in the Oxford edition of Marchant, for Rose (see previous note) has rightly pointed out that 'the Greek is simple, straightforward and fully Xenophontic in style and content' and that a parallel of this ritual theft is described by Herodotus (III, 48, 2 ff.).

others to scourge the thieves, meaning to show thereby that it is possible, at the cost of brief pain, to enjoy good repute for a long time'.

I believe that still other authors provide us with data which afford a better understanding of this ritual and even make it possible to discern the myth connected with it. In Alcman reference is made to a curious way of making cheese (Fragm. 37 D):

πολλάκις δ' ἐν καρυφαῖσ' ὀρέων, ὅπα
θεοῖς Φάδη πολύφανος ἔστα,
χρύσιον ἄγγος ἔχοισα, μέγαν σκύφον,
οἴλα τε ποιμένες ἄνδρες ἔχουσιν,
χερσὶ λεόντεον ἐγ γάλα θεῖσα
τυρὸν ἐτύρησας μέγαν ἄτρυφον ἀργιφόνταν
(mss. ἀργειφόνται)

'Oft-times on the peaks of the mountains, whensoe'er the festival with many torches delights the gods, in thy hands thou carriest a golden vessel, a mighty cup like those that shepherds have, and pouring into it the milk of a lioness, thou didst mould a large cheese, glistening white' ¹.

Two questions at once force themselves on us: Who makes this cheese and for whom is it meant? There is much in favour of the current opinion that the cheese-maker is the goddess Artemis. Who else, in this undoubtedly religious hymn, could be extolled but this Mistress of the Animals, the mighty huntress, seeing that she alone is able to tame the lioness and make her give up her milk? ² Less acceptable is the equally general opinion that the recipient of the cheese is the god

¹ The translation is C. B. Gulick's in his edition of Athenaeus in the Loeb Series with one alteration (I take χερσὶ with ἔχοισα and not with ἐνθεῖσα), in support of which I may refer to the arguments of A. Garzya, *Note ad Alcmane*, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Napoli II, 1952, 1 f.

² Nilsson is cautious ('sie, d.h. die Göttin, wohl Artemis', *GGR*, I, p. 459). In any case it is highly improbable that the poet meant a human being, 'una Baccante', as Garzya suggests.

Dionysus. It is based on a passage of the rhetor Aristides (*Or. 41,7 = II, 331 K*): δύναται δὲ (διάδημασι) καὶ ἔνος πτεροῦν, οὐκ ἵππους μόνον. οὐπερ καὶ λεόντων γάλα διμέλγειν ἀνέθηκέν τις αὐτῷ Λακωνικὸς ποιητής.

Dionysus might also furnish asses with wings, not only horses, just as he is credited, by a Laconian poet, with the milking of lionesses'. Aristides on the whole is not a reliable source, but in the present case the error is palpable as the subject of the lines quoted is obviously of the female sex. There is another reason why Aristides' remarks on the poem in question carry little weight, *viz.* the fact that in the last line a conjecture by Welcker is generally followed which for the final word 'Αργειφόνται substitutes ἀργειφόνταν. If the original text is restored the translation of the last sentence would run:

'Thou didst mould a large solid cheese *for the Argus-killer*' instead of '*glistening white*'. So the poem itself states for whom the cheese is meant, not for Dionysus, but for Hermes. I believe this leads us to the myth which is at the back of the ritual theft of the cheeses from Orthia.

Artemis is often identified with Orthia¹. Both are goddesses of fertility. For the divine thief, the ithyphallic god of virility²,

¹ Although the inscriptions which explicitly identify Orthia with Artemis are all productions of the second half of the first century A.D., many scholars suggest on different grounds that the identification of the two began in the sixth century B.C. (See Page, *Alcman: The Partheneion*, p. 72 ff., who after having summed up the outstanding characteristics of Orthia rightly remarks: 'The evidence attributes to her that power over the birth and growth of the human, animal, and vegetable creation which is among the earliest attributes of the divine Artemis' (pp. 73-74)). One may compare the important article of Davison (*Hermes*, LXXIII, 1938, spec. p. 458) and the useful summaries of modern views by Zichen in P-W, s.v. 'Artemis' and s.v. 'Orthia'; and by Detschew in RAC, I, 1950, s.v. Artemis, spec. col. 716.

² The statement of N. O. Brown, *Hermes the Thief: The Evolution of a myth*, p. 34: 'Hermes was never regarded as a source of vegetable fertility', unduly separates the influence of the god in the human or

she prepared a cheese; but she did not give it to him. The conjecture is not too bold that the god Hermes appropriated the cheese, just as the youths in his service have to appropriate the sacred cheeses on Orthia's altar which have been prepared by the women and are meant for the young men. So year after year as 'thieves' they repeat the act which, according to myth, the god of the thieves once performed after Artemis (or Orthia) had prepared the cheese from the milk of a lioness.

According to Theocritus (II, 67—68) many wild beasts were paraded in the πομπή of Artemis, but only one, a lioness, is expressly mentioned:

ἄλσος ἐς Ἀρτέμιδος, ταῖς δὴ τόκα πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα
θηρία πομπεύεσκε περισταθόν, ἐν δὲ λέαινα.

The question, already put forward by P. Giles in 1889, whether these θηρία had something to do with religious observances, or whether the passage only refers to an Alexandrian πομπή of wild beasts, may now be answered by choosing the first alternative as far as the lioness is concerned¹.

If our explanation of the Alcman fragment is correct, the god of the thieves is the Master of the Animals, the male partner of the Mistress of the Animals. My conclusion entirely agrees with the results of the investigation of Miss Chittenden, who holds that the Greek Hermes goes back to a Minoan hunting god, the πότνιος θηρῶν². Perhaps the myth which is

animal sphere from that in plant life. Such assertions make 'an arbitrary and un-Greek distinction' (W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods*, p. 69).

¹ Giles in CR, III, 1889, 222. Gow, in his new edition of Theocritus, does not go into the subject. The explanation of L. B. Lawler, who supposes a lion dance of the maidens before marriage, is not satisfactory (*A Lion among Ladies*, TAPA, LXXVIII, 1947, p. 88 ff.).

² Chittenden, *The Master of the Animals*, Hesperia, XVI, 1947, pp. 89–114; ead., *Diahoros Argeiphontes*, AJA, LII, 1948, pp. 24–33. Cf. Rhys Carpenter, *Argeiphontes: A suggestion*, AJA, LIV, 1950, pp. 177 ff. Archaeological evidence concerning the Master of the

alluded to in the Alcman fragment is of Minoan origin. If so, it removes the veil, at least partly, which hides the relationship between the Mistress and the Master of the Animals¹. Just as in the life of human beings the young men are ready for marriage after having completed the rite, so in the life of the gods the male partner should be ready for the *hieros gamos* because of this 'theft'. It is only by assuming that this idea concerning the relation between the two gods was a living concept among the early Spartans, that we are enabled to understand why the people annually accomplished this rite. They repeated in the rite what the two gods had done according to the myth.

What is the meaning of this myth and of the ritual at Orthia's altar? I believe this question to be connected with data from Crete. The statement that Spartan customs and laws are derived from Crete occurs frequently in ancient literature and is confirmed by the study of modern scholars. Now we find in Athenaeus (658 D) a curious passage telling us about the name given to certain cheeses in connection with offerings. He borrows his information from Seleucus of Alexandria: τοὺς δὲ λεπτοὺς τῶν τυρῶν καὶ πλατεῖς Κρήτες θηλεῖς, καλοῦσιν, ὡς φησι Σέλευκος· οὓς ἐν θυσίαις τιστὶ ἐναγίζουσιν. 'There are also thin broad cheeses which the Cretans call females, as Seleucus tells us, which they offer up at certain sacrifices'. Secondly, in Crete Artemis is considered to be particularly the goddess of the fighting men, as is shown by a fragment probably from Callimachus (fragm. 786 Pfeiffer) which speaks of her as 'the mighty one of the Cretan archers': Αρτεμὶ Κρητάων πότνια τοξοφόρων.

Furthermore, the so-called Isaluria inscription from Dreros,

Animals has been collected by J. Charbonneau, *Deux grandes fibules géométriques* (Préhistoire, I, 1932, p. 227); P. Demargne, *La Crète dédalique*, p. 289 ff.; Miss Chittenden, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, Plates XV-XXI.; H. A. Cahn, *Mus. Helv.*, VII, 1950, pp. 185 ff. The data from Sparta are summarized by Miss Chrimes, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

¹ Guthrie, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

though the interpretation of this probably bilingual text is far from certain, also mentions a cheese in connection with a mother goddess who, as the editor of the inscription suggests, might be Leto, the mother of Artemis¹. Although none of these data mention the sacrifice of cheeses on the altar of the Cretan Artemis, I believe that without straining tradition it may be supposed that to the 'certain sacrifices' mentioned by Athenaeus belong offerings of cheese on the altar of Artemis, the goddess of the young warriors. Be that as it may, Artemis in Crete is at any rate the goddess of the adult warrior, and cheese as an offering there is called *θήλεια*, female.

The explanation of the stealing of the cheeses from Orthia is now clear. The Spartan ephèbes on the threshold of manhood have to be initiated both as warriors and as men. This initiation was performed by the stealing of cheeses which had become the goddess' property once they had been laid on the altar. By snatching these cheeses and eating from them, the boys were ordained warriors.

There is more. The cheese symbolizes the female element, indeed through its name it is female. By unlawfully appropriating this female element the boys demonstrate their puberty. By stealing a cheese the boy assumes the right to belong to the men, because he then performs what the god Hermes did according to the myth. The cheese belongs to the sphere into which the boy had not yet entered. Only by force and through robbery may he enter in.

According to the myth Artemis prepares the cheese from the lioness' milk. Later, in a human way, the women do what the goddess did for her male partner. According to one of the latest studies on the name of Orthia it means: 'she who causes to grow'². This translation, indeed, suits her activity as it

¹ Rev. de Philol., XX, 1946, p. 131. On the question of the bilingual character of this inscription cf. ibid., XXI, 1947, 132 ff.; 274 ff.

² W. Vollgraff, *Le décret relatif à un pacte entre Cnossos et Tylissos*, 1948, p. 37-38. Cf. already A. Thomsen, AfR, IX, 1906. For a quite different suggestion which may be added to the literature

is shown in this ritual. She initiates the ephebe both as a man and as a warrior and by this twofold action secures continuity to society. The new levy of the country's defenders is ready, and now these young men are also able to beget offspring who in their turn shall secure the existence of the Spartan community. This rite is a religious guarantee. It does not mean that after this ritual theft the young Spartan will forthwith marry. On the contrary, Xenophon tells us that on the whole Spartans married late. Plutarch relates the same with regard to Spartan women and he adds, as we have seen (p. 227), that the young man used to get himself a bride by capture (*Lyc.* XV, 4). The bridegroom steals his bride, as symbolically he did before when as a boy he stole the cheese, the *θήλεια*, or the female, at the moment when he took his place as an equal (potentially, not actually) among the adults.

In the course of this ritual the boys were beaten. This beating is generally looked upon as a fertility rite, which I believe it certainly is. The parallel of the Roman Lupercalia is manifest. Here, too, beating was supposed to enhance fertility. Yet, in Rome it is mostly the women who are beaten. Greece, too, knew this rite of beating women, e.g. in Alea in Arcadia where at the Dionysus festival women were flogged¹. Marrou is too sure when he peremptorily remarks: 'Que la flagellation devant l'autel d'Orthia ne soit pas le rite primitif sur lequel a rêvé l'imagination morbide des sociologues modernes est un fait aujourd'hui bien établi'². I think that abusive language does not solve scientific problems and I prefer the company of the 'morbid sociologists', where I may meet Usener³ and Frazer (see note 1), to the clique

mentioned by Vollgraff, see P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* XXX, 1943, p. 155 f.

¹ Paus. VIII, 23, 1; further data relating to various cults in Frazer's Commentary *ad loc.*

² Marrou, *op. cit.*, p. 477, note 31.

³ *Heilige Handlung*, AFR, VII, 1904, 299 ff.

of younger too self-confident historians. I believe, all the same, that this ritual beating of boys is more than a fertility rite. It was shown above that the rite at the war-goddess Orthia's altar is also a military rite, although we should not separate the military from the fertility factor. At the end of the passage quoted Xenophon says that the law-giver intended to make it clear that at the cost of brief pain one may enjoy good repute for a long time. This can have no other meaning than that Xenophon considers the ritual as a means to teach the boys endurance. With Plutarch also the stealing is connected with the idea of practising endurance for this account of the stealing by the Spartan boys finishes with the well-known story of the boy who had a stolen fox under his cloak and in order not to give himself away suffered the animal to bite him to death. He adds that he can vouch for this endurance, as he himself has seen many who allowed themselves to be flogged to death at Orthia's altar (*Lyc.* XVIII, 2).

Many modern scholars hold that Plutarch here has something in view quite different from Xenophon¹. I may start with admitting that the story of the boy and the fox cannot be original as, in contrast to the other data, the stolen object is not edible nor can it serve for preparing the meal. On the other hand, the insertion of this passage and that of the flogging of the boys in the account of the stealing is remarkable. We cannot help feeling that both statements belong to the same group of data Plutarch is dealing with. In support of the view that Plutarch and Xenophon deal with two distinct customs at Orthia's altar it is pointed out that an endurance test is only mentioned at a relatively late date (*Cic. Tus.* II, 34). This, however, is not correct, as Xenophon already speaks of enduring pain and thereby acquiring a good repute.

¹ So Rose in the article quoted (note 1 on p. 262), elaborating a previous publication: *Artemis Orthia*, Hellenic Society, Suppl. Paper No. 5, p. 405. His view is shared by Nilsson in *GGR*, I, p. 458 and *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*², p. 504, note 74.

Even Nilsson, although assuming two different customs, is forced to conclude from Xenophon's passage that there are two parties in combat with one another: one trying to steal the cheeses, the other to protect them¹. When, on the other hand, we proceed from the point taken above that the ritual of the stealing has a twofold meaning, Orthia whom we identified with Cretan Artemis being the goddess both of fertility and of war, it becomes clear why Xenophon and Plutarch connect the struggle at the altar, which is a trial of strength, with the fertility rite. All that passes at Orthia's altar is performed in the interest of the continuous existence of the community. The strength of the youths who secure this continuance is manifested by their power of procreation and their military prowess.

The second element relating to the contest and the endurance was quite secularized in a later period. In a time when the religious meaning of this rite as a fertility ceremony was no longer realized, and when the equally religious meaning of the contest had disappeared, spectators, particularly strangers, had only eyes for the spectacular features of this custom, the flogging as a trial of strength. When the contest is unduly emphasized and the transitional rite, without which the contest has no more religious value, loses its meaning, the way is clear for misunderstanding, both to performers and historians. Ps.-Plutarch describes it as a kind of torture bringing praise to those who endured longest (*Inst. Lac.* 239 C (40)). The meaningful rite has degenerated into a barbarous sadism. Yet Lucian in his *Anacharsis* has Solon utter the warning that these customs are not to be ridiculed and that it should not be imagined that the combatants undergo a beating in vain (Ch. 38). Here undoubtedly is a vague consciousness that the meaning of the revolting spectacle lies deeper than was realized in the second century A.D.

Philostratus, too, admits as much when in connection with this Spartan custom he remarks that such customs are alien

¹ *GGR*, I, p. 459.

to us because we are unaware of their background (*Life of Apollonius of Tyana* VI, 20).

If my endeavour to find this background in a poem by Alcman has been successful, then on the strength of the passages from Xenophon and Plutarch quoted above we must also conclude that in Sparta one rite was known with a twofold meaning. This does not mean that I should wish to restore A. Thomsen's theory which used to find so many supporters¹. Thomsen, too, speaks of one and the same rite but believes that under the influence of the rigid Spartan educational system the religious fertility-rite degenerated into a military trial of strength. I have, on the other hand, attempted to show that from the beginning the rite had also a military character which later on was unduly emphasized.

This does not mean either that I endorse the recent conclusions of Miss Chrimes², who rejects the late sadistic degeneration of the religious rite. In my opinion she is right in so far as she opposes the theory that the scourging was of late origin. Her elaboration of Nilsson's suggestion that the Peloponnesian Artemis was identified with the Cretan Mistress of the Animals is also worth consideration. Many other suggestions, however, have to be approached with due caution, as Woodward has pointed out³. For our purpose it will be sufficient to say that there is no reason to explain the scourging as a propitiatory rite⁴. Miss Chrimes makes worthless the one rather late and unreliable source she quotes in support

¹ AfR, IX, 1906, p. 397 ff.

² Miss Chrimes, *op. cit.*, Ch. VII, p. 248 ff.: 'The Cult and Festival of Orthia'.

³ Woodward in Historia, I, 1950, p. 623 ff. I do not understand why Woodward approves her rejection of the theory that the scourging is a fertility rite (p. 624). That Orthia was a goddess of fertility has been once more clearly pointed out by Page (*op. cit.*, p. 73).

⁴ She does not mention Usener, who was one of the first to support this theory (AfR, VII, 1904, p. 291: 'Es darf als sicher betrachtet werden, dass der spartanische Ephebenkampf den Zweck hatte, die Gemeinde zu reinigen und zu entsühnen').

(*Paus.* III, 16, 9) by rejecting the main statement of the passage, *viz.* that the scourging was a survival of human sacrifice. The parallel with the Ionian Thargelia and the suggestion that the cheeses were substituted for clay *phialai*, like the sacred bowls of Apollo stolen by the original *Pharmakoi*, are pure speculations (p. 265). I agree with her that 'the Spartan goddess was by no means exclusively a fertility goddess . . . ; she was also a goddess of war and of hunting, and well fitted to become the patroness of all the warlike and manly pursuits to which the population of Dorian Sparta . . . devoted itself so completely' (pp. 270 f.). The male partner, however, was not Apollo, but Hermes, the strong guide in dangerous and unknown land. Both deities protect the community by giving fertility and military strength.

We do not know whether *all* the Ephebes had to undergo the ordeal. One might imagine that originally only the boys of a definite age had to steal the cheeses and were whipped. On the other hand it may be that the fertility rite was so important that all young men took part in it during several years before their marriage. In that case the ritual was not a *rite de passage*, performed by the male once in life, but a ceremony repeated every year probably by all the unmarried men¹. However that may be, — the evidence is absolutely inconclusive —, even if *all* the Ephebes were involved, this is no argument (as it is for Miss Chrimes, p. 261) to reject the theory which in my opinion is the most plausible one, *viz.* that the whipping was a fertility rite².

In conclusion, it may be asked whether the degeneration of the Spartan rite took place gradually or was caused by some sudden alteration. I cannot accept the latter view. It is imaginable that a lawgiver or a reformer all at once may

¹ See for the unmarried men especially the fragment of Clearchus (*Athen.* XIII, 555 C).

² Nilsson and Thomson may be right that many propitiatory rites are also fertility rites (*Griech. Feste*, p. 190; *Studies in Ancient Greek Society*, I, p. 48).

give a new and perverse meaning to an old religious tradition. It is possible that he could prevail upon the people to accept his plans, although this is not very probable so long as the community remains true to the tradition. But it is hard to imagine that this act should have left no traces in history. Now there is no mention of such a dominating figure in the times after Xenophon and before Cicero. Neither Agis IV nor Cleomenes III could be held responsible for such a sudden and drastic measure. This difficulty is ruled out if we consider the possibility that the change was brought about gradually, an assumption rendered more feasible if we remember that from the start the ritual had also a military aspect.

Schematically the development may be presented as follows:

- 1a. A rite of transition to puberty. The young men become bearers of sexual vitality and full-grown warriors.
- 1b. A rite of initiation of the young men, emphasizing perseverance and endurance.

2. A mutual contest of the young Spartans who belabour each other with sticks.

Here we see a process of secularization of originally meaningful religious customs into a repulsive trial. The same process may be observed in many societies which are losing contact with a religious past.

e. A Curious Punishment in the Spartan Agoge:
XVIII, 3-6

When dinner was over, so we are told, the boys were given tasks by the Eirenes. One had to sing a song, another to answer questions. Some examples of these questions are mentioned: Who is the bravest citizen and why? Who is held in respect and who is not? If a wrong answer was given, the boy was punished by having his thumb bitten by the Eiren.

Volkmann's explanation of this curious punishment is that we are dealing with a magical custom, the aim of the

Eiren's bite being to impart vigour and wisdom to the boy. Volkmann's only parallel in support of this theory is afforded by a Maori custom, where the priest bites a madman in the head. This delivers the patient from his own harmful mana and brings him under the priest's influence. The Spartan custom is said to be a spiritual impregnation of the boys by the Eiren¹. This explanation meets with two objections. First of all, the parallel is rather unconvincing. With the Spartans there is no question of a patient who is a danger to the community and who – if the Maori custom is rightly interpreted – should be brought under the priest's influence. Of more importance is the fact that the Eiren's action is intended to be a punishment, which the Maori custom clearly is not.

It is tempting to regard this puzzling punishment as a symbolic act. Cutting off the thumb, particularly that of the right hand, deprives the victim of his military ability (*Plut. Lys.* IX) and is therefore resorted to in the case of prisoners of war². Possibly, then, the biting of the thumb is a substitute for lopping it off and would mean: you are not yet able to bear arms, not yet a man; as a soldier you are just as useless as a prisoner whose thumb has been cut off. A conclusive objection to this explanation (which Volkmann, though for other reasons, also rejects) is that it presupposes the punishment to be given for a military deficiency. This conflicts with the context. The subject discussed is wrong or slow answers to all sorts of questions revealing intellectual imperfection. It might be argued that in Sparta everything was measured by military standards and that consequently punishment for all sorts of shortcomings was of a military nature. But this argument overlooks the fact that Sparta's dominant military character only came into existence in the

¹ Volkmann, *Ein verkannter Strafbrauch der Spartäner*, AfR, XXXII, 1935, pp. 188 ff. His explanation is regarded as feasible by Michell, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

² Cf. Nilsson, *GGR*, I, p. 90.

course of time whereas the intellectual training referred to by Plutarch and the penalties involved are undoubtedly older than Spartan militarism. I am well aware that this argument is not conclusive, but in my view there is a reason for suggesting a third explanation the more so as both the theories mentioned overlook one seemingly non-Spartan feature in this passage. Possibly this feature will pave the way for a more satisfactory solution.

It strikes us as remarkable that the Spartan boy, who is usually well trained in submission to his elders, in these meetings conducted by an Eiren was permitted a personal opinion about older persons: ἐρώτημά τι πεφροντισμένης δεόμενον δικαιορίσεως. It indicates that this part of the Agoge certainly did not originate in a period when boys were only expected to obey, but that it must be older. True, their opinion was guided by the Eiren and the older Spartans had the supervision, but that does not alter the fact that, as Plutarch himself declares (*καὶ κρίνειν καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰθίζοντο περὶ τῶν πολιτῶν*), giving an opinion on fellow-citizens was encouraged.

This opinion had to be pronounced succinctly, briskly and fluently. I do not hazard an opinion on the data in Plutarch (particularly *Lyc.* XIX ff.) and other authors on Spartan conciseness – although it certainly occupied itself with rhetorical and philosophical speculation rather than with historical data – but it is a safe assumption that in the Greek world Spartans were known for their terseness of speech. Presumably a gesture on occasion would suffice to express their meaning or would underline their few words.

My suggestion is that the boys' criticism of the older Spartans was accompanied by a gesture with the thumb. A parallel may be found in the custom of the spectators in a Roman amphitheatre to indicate by a movement of the thumb whether the life of the wounded gladiator should be spared¹. We

¹ See for the practice of lowering the thumb, 'pollices premere', to show favour, and turning it back, up and away from the suppliant,

know this custom only as a Roman one, but it is not a bold guess that the Greeks knew it also, as with regard to other gestures there likewise appears to have been a similarity¹. If this conjecture is correct, it explains why the punishment was applied to the thumb.

In Athens young people always enjoyed more liberty in criticizing older folk. This is shown e.g. by a fragment from Phrynicus (*CAF*, frag. 3) which might support our theory: ἔστιν δ' αὐτούς γε φυλάττεσθαι τῶν νῦν χαλεπώτατον ἔργον. ἔχουσι γάρ τι κέντρον ἐν τοῖς δακτύλοις, μισάνθρωπον δῆνθος ἡβῆς· εἰδότες δέ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιόντες ἐπὶ τοῖς βάθροις ὅταν ὁσιοί, ἔκει τούτοις οἵς ἡδυλογοῦσιν μεγάλας ἀμυχάς καταμένοντες καὶ συγκύψαντες ἀπαντες γελῶσιν.

'Of all the jobs we now have to do, the hardest is to protect oneself from them. For they have a kind of sting in their fingers, the flower of man-haters' prime. When they go about the market-place they always speak suavely to all, but when they are seated on the benches there they all tear great scratches in those to whom they speak so suavely and with one consent deride them'².

to show hostility, 'pollices vertere', Onians, *op. cit.*, p. 139, note 4. His explanation had been put forward already by Bernardus Ferrarius (*De veterum acclamationibus et plausu*, V and XII ff.) and later was opposed at length by Echtermeyer, (cf. p. 279, note 4). For our purpose it is irrelevant whether 'thumbs up' had a favourable or a hostile meaning as in either case the gesture was made with the thumb.

¹ L. Friedlaender, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*¹⁰, II, p. 74, refers to *Lyc.* XIX, 9: καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν ἀθλημάτων, ταῦτα μόνα μὴ καλέσαντος ἀγωνίζεοθαι τοὺς πολίτας, ἐν οἷς χεῖρ οὐκ ἀνατίνεται. *Mor.* 189 E (4) and D prove that ἀνατίνειν τὴν χεῖρα means praying for mercy and surrender (ἀπαυδάνειν). The same gesture was customary in Greece and in Rome. C. Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer*, mentions many cases in which Greek and Roman gestures had the same meaning. On the example of ἀνατίνειν, cf. Sittl, p. 219, note 4.

² Translation by Gulick in the edition of Athenaeus (165 B) in the Loeb series.

Athenian youths evidently enjoyed their privilege to the full and in the assembly or the court room were not sparing in their sharp criticism of older people. Their words were not always understood but their gestures answered the purpose and offended their seniors: ἔχουσι γάρ τι κέντρον ἐν τοῖς δακτύλοις¹. If this interpretation of Phrynicus' fragment is correct, then we have here a parallel to the sign-language of the Spartan boys. But the spirit is totally different. The young Athenian continued with impunity, whereas the Spartan boy is pulled up by the Eiren.

The origin of this curious punishment may perhaps be found by a different approach. Even if the fingers, or in our case the thumb, played a part in the conversation of the Spartans, whose gestures supported their speech, it remains strange that no more suitable punishment was imposed than biting the thumb. The question is whether a custom that to us seems unpractical perhaps had a deeper meaning. In this connection two points deserve consideration: biting as a symbolic act, and the meaning of the extremities, particularly the fingers.

It seems probable that biting the thumb indicated what was originally its removal. It is well known that in many primitive communities parts of the body were amputated. At the reason for this surgical operation we can only guess. Many regard it as an attempt to preserve one part of the body even beyond death, in order to render possible the re-birth of the individual². Another theory is that a sacrifice of one part of the body was made to the gods in the hope that the remaining parts would be permitted to live on³. If

¹ I share the scepticism of Ehrenberg, *The people of Aristophanes*², p. 101, note 3, with regard to Edmonds' explanation of the fragment. Edmonds takes the 'sting in the finger' to refer to the applause in the theatre.

² Thomson, *Studies in Ancient Greek Society*, I, The prehistoric Aegean, p. 48.

³ van der Leeuw, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

a certain part of the body has a special significance, the sacrifice made on behalf of that part is all the more valuable. Obviously some organs cannot be sacrificed without destroying their functional significance for the body and, as in many cases they are essential for the individual and the community alike, a substitute was looked for.

The sexual organs could not be sacrificed without jeopardizing the community. Yet in connection with procreation it was found necessary to influence the gods by a sacrifice which had some relation to the sexual organ. This idea, in my opinion, caused many tribes to assimilate the finger and the phallos¹, and it also led to the belief prevailing in some regions that a finger could produce pregnancy².

This assimilation with the phallos was based perhaps on the idea that the finger is a centre of energy. With the Egyptians we find the identification of human limbs with those of the gods³. Possibly, or even probably, this is quite distinct from the identity of finger and phallos, but the Egyptian conception of the fingers as those of a god must have been based on the belief that the finger is the centre of energy⁴. This last feature is more important than the assimilation with the phallos or with a god. This also explains why a babe might have been fed with a finger instead of with the mother's breast: *ἀντὶ μαστοῦ τὸν δάκτυλον εἰς τὸ στόμα τοῦ παιδίου*

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

² J. Vürtheim, *Aeschylus' Schutzflehende*, p. 43. Onians, *op. cit.*, p. 198, note 1; p. 494 ff.

³ H. Ranke, *Die Vergötterung der Glieder des menschlichen Körpers bei den Agyptern*, OLZ, XXVII, p. 558 ff.

⁴ Striking examples from Jewish literature in J. Löw, *Die Finger in Literatur und Folklore der Juden*, Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an David Kaufmann, p. 61 ff.; on the meaning of the thumb see p. 75 ff. Th. Echtermeyer, *Proben aus einer Abhandlung über Namen und symbolische Bedeutung der Finger bei den Griechen und Römern*. Bericht des Pädagogiums zu Halle, 1835. In contrast with the title it only deals with examples from Latin literature.

διδοῦσαν¹. Like the phallos the breast is a source of energy. The identification of the finger with both phallos and mother's breast cannot be explained unless the physical energy is the *tertium comparationis*. This energy springs from the phallos, is fed by the mother's breast and with human beings becomes manifest in the work of the fingers.

It seems a long road that connects this meaning of the thumb, *alias* phallos, with the punishment imposed by the Eiren. What connection indeed could there be between the after-dinner conversation of Eiren and boys and the expiatory sacrifice related to sexual life? But Plutarch himself in a curious comparison made this connection: *ὡς γάρ τὸ σπέρμα τῶν πρός τὰς συνουσίας ἀκολάστων ἄγονον ὡς τὰ πόλλα καὶ ἀκαρπόν ἔστιν, οὕτως ἡ πρός τὸ λαλεῖν ἀκρασία κενὸν τὸν λόγον ποιεῖ καὶ ἀνόγτον* (*Lyc. XIX*, 3). Are we dealing here with mere oratory, or has the parallel a deeper meaning? Against the first supposition it may be argued that rhetorical literature to my knowledge knows no parallel like the one mentioned. Plutarch's words are uncommon and, what is more, they are used in connection with conciseness which also is the object of the table-talk controlled by the Eiren: *εἰς βραχὺν τινα . . . λόγον καὶ σύντομον* (*XVIII*, 5). I am inclined to take Plutarch's words literally, though he meant them to be rhetorical just as in the parallel of *τὸ τοῦ λόγου νόμισμα* (*XIX*, 2) immediately preceding. The original meaning of the thumb-biting may then be reconstructed along the following lines.

Both mating and talking are creative acts of man. The organs used therein must be protected against harm from gods or demons by the sacrifice of a substitute, for if these organs themselves, phallos and tongue, were sacrificed the two functions of mating and talking could not be carried out. In the first case the finger is offered, as the centre of vital energy, while in the latter case the substitution of the finger

¹ Plut. *De Iside et Osiride*, 16.

is even more indicated because the finger is frequently used for the gestures which accompany speech.

In the Spartan community, then, the evolution probably was as follows. In the case of serious crimes like slander or treason the culprit's tongue was cut off. Smaller offences were punished by cutting off a finger, a substitute for the tongue. Biting the finger is a symbolic act, a mitigation of the latter penalty. I presume it was impressed upon the Spartans that brevity was not to be trifled with and that it was just as important as the rules of sexual life. This was all the more easy since the sexual organ and the organ of speech had the same substitute. Plutarch's statement, *ὅς γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα τῶν πρὸς τὰς συνουσιας ἀκολάστων κτλ.*, therefore is no oratorical hyperbole but one of the maxims in the catechism of the young Spartans.

f. Music and Song

Within the framework of Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus the discussion on Spartan military music constitutes a transition from the Agoge of young people to the business of war. The introduction to XXI contains reflections on the relation between *ψυχή* and music of the kind fashionable since Aristoxenus of Tarentum¹. Plutarch had touched on the matter already in IV, 2-3: Lycurgus had sent Thaletas to Sparta. Musical training is important and according to XVIII, 3 it is the duty of the Eiren.

Critics take Plutarch to task for making Lycurgus the originator of much in the sphere of music which only came about much later. This reproach is unjust, since Lycurgus is in no respect given here the place of a *πρῶτος εὑρετής*. The excursus in the preceding chapter is continued and music is now discussed merely *in order to demonstrate that the Spartans are a civilized nation*. The modern method would have been to place the excursus at the end in the form of an appendix.

¹ Kessler, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

But the fact that Plutarch follows a different method does not entitle us to read into the text meanings it does not imply. Chapter IV reads: ὅστε τρόπον τινὰ τῷ Λυκούργῳ προεδοποιεῖν αὐτῶν ἔκεινον (sc. τὸν Θάλητα) – which means that the musical training by this poet and singer preceded Lycurgus' educational measures.

Chapter XXI describes the situation in later periods, and famous names such as Terpander and Pindar are mentioned. The absence of Tyrtaeus does not mean that honour properly due to him is given to Lycurgus, but that *Tyrtaeus, being himself considered as a Spartan, would not fit into this apologetic passage*. The defence of Sparta's musical culture ought to come from outside sources. Plutarch did not place the antiphony (XXI, 3) in Lycurgus' time either¹; and there is no evidence that his statement that the antiphony was sung ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς must be incorrect, as is sometimes believed on account of *Athenaeus* XV, 678 BC, a fragment from Sosibius. This fragment is supposed to mean that only at the *gymnopædiae* was such a song performed, but the text in *Athenaeus* implies no such restrictions². Moreover, Sosibius mentions a choir composed not of three age-groups but of two, *viz.* of boys and of men. Kaibel by way of a conjecture added a few words to the text which suggest, on the strength of Plut. *Lyc.* XXI, 3, the presence of a choir of old men. This is purely arbitrary. The height of modern arrogance, however,

¹ The following paragraph opposes Kessler's treatment, *op. cit.*, p. 78-79.

² The text of Sosibius (FGrHist, 595, fr. 5) runs as follows:

Θυρεατικοί· αὗτα καλοῦνται τινες στέρφανοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις, δις φησι Σωσίβιος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ θυσιῶν, φύλινους αὐτοὺς φάσκων νῦν ὀνομάζεσθαι, ὅντας ἐκ φρενίκων, φέρειν δ' αὐτοὺς ὑπέρμνημα τῆς ἐν Θυρέδῃ γενομένης νίκης τοὺς προστάτας τῶν ἀγοράνων χορῶν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ταῦτη, διτε καὶ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν, χοροὶ δ' εἰσὶ τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον παιδῶν, τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀριστου ἀνθρώπων, γυμνῶν δρυχομένων καὶ φέροντων Θαλητᾶ καὶ Ἀλκμάνος φύματα καὶ τοὺς Διονυσοδότους τοῦ Λάκωνος παιδίας. For alterations of the text, see Wilamowitz, *Hermes* XXXVII, 1902, p. 313 and Jacoby's *ann. crit.* For the interpretation, see Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, p. 141.

is to adopt an imaginary connection between Sosibius and Plutarch and then to fasten an error on the latter on the strength of the former's statements. I believe that there is no connection between Sosibius' statement and that of Plutarch¹. According to the former, two choirs performed their antiphony on the occasion of the *gymnopaediae*, whereas the latter mentions three choirs.

Nilsson made some remarks on $\kappa\alpha\lambda$ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδίας, which are worthy of consideration, because the word $\kappa\alpha\lambda$ shows that *originally* the song by two choirs had no relation to the *gymnopaediae*. This implies that, if need arose, various ceremonies were combined, and from this it follows also that various kinds of choral songs might be combined on one day. Even if Plutarch's words be taken in their strictest sense (which I do not regard as necessary) and $\epsilon\nu$ τὰς ἔορτας be rendered by 'at the (= all) festivals', it does not exclude the possibility that threefold and twofold choirs appeared side by side.

g. Military Preparations: XXII

The opening words of this chapter τότε δέ, in war-time, are closely linked with the final words of XXI, 7: οἱ μαχόμενοι. Plutarch's description of the warriors' preparation for battle does not attribute these arrangements to Lycurgus², unlike that of *Lys.* 1 and Xenophon's passage on this subject in *Lac. Resp.* XI, 3.

Plutarch mentions Lycurgus only in XXII, 2, quoting his statement about the soldiers' habit of wearing long hair: τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς εὐπρεπεστέρους ποιεῖ, τοὺς δ' αἰσχροὺς φοβερώ-

¹ Cf. Wade-Gery, CQ. XLIII, 1949, p. 79, who rightly remarks that the passage in Plut. *Lyc.* XXI, 3 'is nowhere explicitly connected with the *Gymnopaediai*'. Jacoby marks the words [[ότε καλ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν]] as 'zusatz des ausgeschriebenen autors'. I do not believe this to be necessary.

² In XXI, 1: 'Η.... παιδευτές οὐχ ἡττον ἐσπουδάζετο; in XXII, 1, with the Spartans as subject: οὐκ ἐκάλεσαν καλλωπίζεσθαι.

τέρους. Herodotus in I, 82 has an *aition* for the habit of wearing the hair long: when the Argives had been defeated in the battle for Thyrea and as a token of mourning had cut off their hair, the Spartan victors let theirs grow. This *aition* can hardly have historical value¹.

Lys. I shows how conscientiously Plutarch examines and weighs his data about the hair-style. He opposes Herodotus' view and also the theory that the habit originated on account of the Bacchiadae who fled to Sparta from Corinth. His conclusion is: ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο Λυκούργειν ἔστιν.

Presumably the reference is to an ancient custom based on a belief in the magic significance of the hair². A belated echo comes from Philostr. *Apoll. Tyan.* VIII, 7, which says of the philosopher: σοφοῦ ἀνδρὸς κόμης φειδέσθω σιδηρος, οὐ γάρ θεμιτὸν ἐπάγειν αὐτόν, οὐ πάσαι μὲν αἰσθητηρίων πηγαί, πᾶσαι δ' δύρα, διὸν εὐχαὶ τε ἀναφείνονται καὶ σοφίας ἔρμηνες λόγος.

This ancient custom was preserved and the other Greeks derided the Spartans for it. The expression attributed to Lycurgus (*Lyc.* XXII, 2) is a response to this derision which, like other similar 'bons mots' elsewhere, is ageless.

h. The Relation between the Chapters XXI and XXII

Kessler in his study of the sources asserts that Plutarch uses Sphaerus as a source in XXI but Hermippus in XXII–XXIII, only to return to Sphaerus in XXIV³. He departed from Sphaerus at the close of XXI, Kessler says, because the context demanded it. Let us consider this statement.

The quotation from Alcman at the end of XXI, 6 shows the Spartans' great admiration for music: ἔρπει γάρ ἀντα τῷ σιδάρῳ τὸ καλῶς κιθαρίδδεν. Then follows another piece of evidence: before giving battle the king sacrificed to the

¹ An opposite view in Kessler, *op. cit.*, ad loc.

² On the magical meaning of the hair, cf. p. 228 above.

³ Kessler, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

Muses because he wished to remind the men of their education and of the *tests*, so as to enable them to face mortal danger and to perform outstanding deeds.

Objections have been raised to the word *χρίσις* and various emendations have been proposed. I believe the passage should be linked with XVIII, 3, which states that the Eiren orders the boys to sing or to make a speech. The subject of the song or the address is generally a hero or a deserving citizen. This taught the young men *καὶ χρίνειν καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν . . . περὶ τῶν πολιτῶν*. On the eve of the battle the king reminds his warriors of these tasks which they performed when boys, how at the command of the Eiren they sang the praises of inspiring and exemplary men, and of their free choice in past days of the hero they were to extol. So the *χρίσις* means both their own *choice* of a subject and their proficiency *test* before the Eiren.

This interpretation of *χρίσις* provides us with the explanation of the passage in Xenophon *Lac. Resp.* XIII, 9¹: *Ἐξεστὶ τὸ τέλος νέων καὶ κεκριμένω τες μάχην συνιέναι καὶ φαιδρὸν εἶναι καὶ εὐδόκιμον*. It has been suggested to alter *κεκριμένω* in *κόμην διακεκριμένω*, on the analogy of Plut. *Lyc.* XXII, 2 *κόμην διακεκριμένην*². I do not think this alteration necessary; *κεκριμένω* refers to the singing test and possibly to other trials before the Eiren. It stresses the meaning of these tests to the community. No permission is granted *εἰς μάχην συνιέναι καὶ φαιδρὸν εἶναι καὶ εὐδόκιμον*, unless all the requirements of the Agoge have been met. This does not imply that the young soldiers who had failed in their test were left behind when the army took the field. Xenophon means to convey that

¹ Xenophon certainly is not the source for Plutarch, Kessler, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

² For attempts to emendate the text, see Marchant's edition: *κεκριμένω* (sc. ἐλαῖω) Marchant; *κεκτενομένω* Sauppe; *κόμην διακεκριμένω* Weiske ex Plut. *Lyc.* XXII. The last version is wrongly based on Plut. *κόμην διακεκριμένην*. Cobet already opposed this attempt, *Nov. Lect.*, p. 735-736.

every νέος who had passed the test is permitted to join the older man, the true soldiers. The outward sign of this promotion is that they need no longer go about in their scanty boys' clothes (Plut. *Lyc.* XVI, 12) but are entitled to wear a real uniform. They may now call themselves εὐδόκιμοι νέοι. In XVII, 1 it was these εὐδόκιμοι νέοι who could officiate as ἔρχονται of the twelve-year-old boys. The name εὐδόκιμος is a distinction usually reserved for *men*, ἄνδρες: *Lyc.* XV, 3; *Pyrr.* I, 6; *Agis* VI, 5 (of commanders), *Caes.* XLVII, 3 (of a soothsayer), *Ant.* I, 1 (of a politician, cf. *Mor.* 667 D). *Mor.* 747 B shows that the name εὐδόκιμος was used for those who are proficient in the arts, particularly dancing: δροχουμένων δὲ πολλῶν προθυμότερον ἡ μουσικώτερον, δύο τούς εὐδοκίμους καὶ βουλομένους ἀνασφέειν τὴν ἐμμέλειαν ἡξιουν τινὲς δροχεῖσθαι φορὰν παρὰ φορὰν¹. 'Ἐν λόγοις εὐδόκιμος also occurs (*Mor.* 88 B), which is important for our purpose, as it confirms that the boy who had passed the elocution-test before the Eiren might be called εὐδόκιμος.

Φαιδρός both with Xenophon² and Plutarch has the meaning of cheerful, (often φαιδρῷ προσώπῳ), cf. *Publ.* XIX, 7; *Cim.* V, 2; *Dem.* XXII, 1; *Brut.* XVI, 4; LII, 4; *Otho* XV, 4; *Sertor.* XX, 3; *Alex.* V, 4; *Caes.* LX, 3; *Mor.* 152 B. It is, however, unlikely that it was only after their examination that the Spartan youths were allowed to take the field cheerfully. In *Moralia* 193 A it is said of Epaminondas after the battle of Leuctra: εἰωθὼς δὲ φοίνεσθαι τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀληλυμένος τὸ σῶμα καὶ φαιδρός τῷ προσώπῳ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην τῇ ὑστεραὶ προῆλθε αὐχμυρὸς καὶ ταπεινός. In this passage ταπεινός means 'downhearted' and as such it

¹ Archaeological discoveries confirmed the existence of these musical contests. Cf. Rose in Dawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 429, μᾶκ = μοῦσα 'probably a contest of song'. Chrimis, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

² In the *Lexicon Xenophonticum* (Sturzius) we find 'alacer ad pugnam' as the meaning of the word in *Lac. Resp.* XII, but this is followed by 'sed rectius videtur Zennius notione propria exponere: lotus, unctus, nitidus. Hesych. φαιδρός καθαρός'.

is the opposite of φαιδρός, cheerful. It is not impossible that apart from *Mor.* 193 A these words function as opposites also in other passages. Ταπεινός is said of a 'homo vilis' (*Crassus* III, 5: 'Ρωμαίων ἀδόξῳ καὶ ταπεινῷ. *Nicias* XXVI, 6: τῶν κακίστων ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ ταπεινοτάτων). So the ταπεινοί are the lowest in the army as for instance helots and many of the *perioikoi*. The φαιδροί then are the picked troops of the older Spartiates. I believe the word in *Xen. Lac. Resp.* XIII has this meaning. Boys who had passed the test had to take the field together (*συνιέναι*) with full-fledged warriors. Although perhaps not full-grown they were the best of their age-group and as such were φαιδροί καὶ εὐδόκιμοι.

This interpretation does justice both to συνιέναι and to Εξεστί: we are dealing with a favour granted to the flower of the younger among the Spartan warriors. This disposes of Cobet's objection against *συνιέναι*, founded on the fact that they always march together. *Συνιέναι* in my opinion has not the usual meaning of 'to take the field together', but of 'to march in the ranks of the full-fledged soldiers'¹. *Lac. Resp.* XIII, 9 should therefore be rendered: 'A Spartan boy who has passed the test is permitted to take the field (together with the adults), to wear the uniform (of the Spartiates) and to be (i.e. to bear himself as) a trained warrior'.

As in chapters XXI and XXII the art tests and military service are closely connected, there is no reason to trace XXI, 7 to a different source on the assumption that the

¹ Miss Chrimes, *The 'Respublica Lacedaemoniorum'*, ascribed to *Xenophon*, tried to demonstrate that φαιδρὸν καὶ εὐδόκιμον was a sarcasm on the part of the author whom she believes to be Antisthenes (*op. cit.*, p. 40 ff.). I do think her evidence for the authorship convincing (Cf. my review in *Mnem.*, QS., III, 1950, p. 76 ff.). The same applies to her translation of the words οἵτινες δὲ τῷ νεῷ καὶ κεκριμένῳ εἰς μάχην συνιέναι καὶ φαιδρὸν εἶναι καὶ εὐδόκιμον: 'Even in battle the young Spartan could look smart and clean and be respected for it' (*op. cit.*, p. 30-31).

passage does not fit in with the context. I have, I believe, demonstrated that we meet here a part of the Spartan Agoge of great importance for the military service. Kessler has still another ground for tracing XXI and XXII to different sources, *viz.* because these chapters contain various repetitions: the statement that the Spartans marched to the accompaniment of flutes (XXI, 4 and XXII, 4), and the sacrifice to the Muses (XXI, 7) which is said to be a doublet of the sacrifice in XXII, 4.

As regards the first so-called repetition, XXI is the continuation of the discussion on the Agoge, while XXII describes the preparations of the Spartans for the battle to which the final paragraph of XXI leads up. With Plutarch this type of composition is not unfamiliar: in XXI he presents his views on the significance of the Spartan songs and in XXII he demonstrates their application in a historical review of the Spartan manner of taking the field.

With regard to the alleged doublet of the sacrifice, it may be pointed out that Xenophon in *Hell.* IV, 2, 20 mentions sacrifice to Agrotera, Sosocrates (FGrHist, 461, fr. 7) one to Eros, Plutarch an offering to the Muses and the sacrifice of a goat. Kessler holds these statements to refer to one and the same sacrifice, but there is no reason why we should not think of various sacrifices.

Our conclusion should be, therefore, that the theory that Plutarch in XXII-XXIII used Hermippus and in XXIV returned to Sphaerus is not strong enough to warrant a separation of the chapters XXI and XXII¹.

*i. Ire(n)es in Herodotus IX, 85 and Spartan Funeral Rites in
Plut. Lyc. XXVII*

After the battle of Plataea the Greeks buried their dead.

¹ Notwithstanding Nachstädt's comprehensive study (cf. the edition of *Moralia* II in the Bibl. Teubn., p. 165-167) the question of the sources of Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus deserves a fresh treatment.

The Spartans dug three graves, one for the Irenes to whom belonged Poseidoni^{us}, Amompharetus, Philocyon and Calliocrates, one for the other Spartans and one for the Helots. In this statement the words *Ιρένας* and *Ιρένες* have been inserted in Herodotus' text *per conjecturam*. The version comes from Valckenaer; it was supported by Wesseling in his *Dissertatio Herodotea ad Ti. Hemsterhusium*, 1758, and was subsequently included in the notes of Wesseling's Herodotus edition of 1763. Valckenaer's own copy of this edition contains a good many marginal notes and personal memoranda but nothing on this passage, presumably because he agreed with Wesseling's defence of his own views. Succeeding commentators showed less modesty than Wesseling (presumably on the advice of Valckenaer) had done, and they either rashly adopted Valckenaer's conjecture¹, so cautiously presented by him, or they speak, like Macan, of 'a conjecture by Valckenaer, but a certain one'.

The question may be raised which edition of Herodotus was the first to contain Irenes in the text. Wesseling's edition was published in 1763. According to Th. Gaisford, in his 1824 edition, it is the work of God. Henr. Schaefer in *Herodoti Halicarnassei Historiarum libri IX. Ex optimis exemplaribus emendavit ac notas criticas adjecit G.H.S.* (1803). In his text edition *ad loc.* Gaisford says: 'Irenas. Ita Schaefer ex em. Valckenarii'. I was unable to check Schaefer's edition. The version mentioned is also found in an edition by A. Chr. Borheck of the year 1810, in another by Joh. Schweighäuser of 1816 (giving, like Gaisford, the notes by Valckenaer and Wesseling in extenso in the commentary) and in the third edition by Reiz of 1816 (the first edition of 1778 I have been unable to consult). Since Schaefer, Borheck, Schweighäuser, Reiz's third edition and Gaisford, the version *Ιρένες* (-ας) has appeared in most editions, and this shows the XIXth

¹ *Erodoto, Le storie. Libro nono.* Introduzione e commento di Mario Untersteiner, is an exception. It has Diels' conjecture (see p. 292, note 1).

century editors to have been less cautious with regard to this 'elegantissima conjectura' than were Valckenaer and Wesselink. Gaisford, though recognizing the 'immortalia Wesselingii merita', even calls the latter a 'nimis timidus editor'.

The manuscript reading is Ιρέας and Ιρέες. What made Valckenaer unwilling to maintain this reading? He gives two reasons: 'Sed nusquam alibi, opinor, in historia Graeca Spartiatae memorantur Ιρέες, *sacerdotes*, qui proeliis interfuerint'. There was a second reason which led him to the conjecture under discussion. Amongst the ancient lexicographical works that have come down to us there is a curious document called Λέξεις παρεκβληθεῖσαι ἀπὸ τῆς βίβλου τοῦ 'Ηροδότου κατ' ἀλφάβητον. The words in this vocabulary include Eiren¹, a word not to be found in the traditional text of Herodotus. Valckenaer discovered that the only possible place for it was at the beginning of IX, 85. Irenes or Eirenes is used by Plutarch and Xenophon in the *Life of Lycurgus* and in the *Respublika Lacedaemoniorum* respectively (see p. 256). What was true for the mysterious priests ('numquam alibi memorantur') could not be applied to the Irenes. Moreover, the reputation of the Lexeis was saved; if it occurred in IX, 85, it was indeed a Herodotean term. All the same, Valckenaer did not feel assured, and he concluded his remarks with: 'Neutrum fortasse nec Ιρέας neque Ιρέες'. He also presents another solution: Ιτιέας. So two reasons prompted this conjecture. First of all the fact that he did not know how to place the priests and that there was nothing in tradition regarding Spartan customs concerning the burial of priests. This was Valckenaer's main argument. Secondly, there was the occurrence of the word in a lexicon on Herodotus. We shall see presently that it speaks well for Valckenaer that he did not set store by the latter fact as a support for his conjecture. His caution compares favourably with the assurance of e.g. Macan, who regards the occurrence of the word in the

¹ For the text see p. 249.

lexicon as the sole and the conclusive proof in support of the conjecture.

Let us consider the latter argument. Are we sure that the words in this lexicon are Herodotean? Nothing could be farther from the truth. Stein long ago observed (in *Herodoti Historiae*, II, 1871, p. 465 ff.) that the first of the two lists – the lexicon is composed of two lists, the first one dealing with Herodotus' historical works, the second one an alphabetical list – contains words 'ab Herodoti sermone alienissima' and, what is worse, that a number of the glosses offer interpretations of words from Sophocles' *Electra*, 685–735, not from Herodotus. Apart from these, Stein enumerates ten words that are interpreted in the *Λέξεις*, although they do not appear in Herodotus. The second list, which is in alphabetical order and not according to the works, is even more confusing. So Stein concludes with the condemnation that the lists were made 'ab homine aliquo male sedulo nulliusque iudicii ac paene vecordi aliunde raptim decerpta atque ad Herodotum comportata' (p. 474). It is therefore not correct to say that *Ιρήν* occurs in Herodotus because it is found in the *Λέξεις*.¹

In accordance with this so-called gloss on Herodotus IX, 85 I have divided the Spartan Agoge into three phases²: first the education of children from 7 to 12, who are not split up in age-classes. Then follows the rigorous military training from the 14th to the 18th year, from *φωβίδας* to *παις* (this word to be taken in a technical sense). Finally, there are three years for the Eirenia, two years of preparation for the supervision of the *ἀγέλαι*, holding out as a reward

¹ Stein mentions Aristophanes of Byzantium Περὶ δικαιοίας ἡλικιῶν as the source of this gloss. Diller found the same gloss, except for an important alteration, in a manuscript of Strabo's geography of the Xth century. He thinks that Herodian Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωφίας, a work widely used in Byzantine times, was an intermediate source (AJP, LXII, 1941, p. 499 ff.).

² See p. 248 ff.

the chance of being entrusted with this task. But the completion of the 21st year marks the end of the training because the system can only be successful if the leadership is restricted to one year and so each year a suitable competition is provided amongst the members of the class whose turn has come.

Here is the starting-point for criticism of Valckenaer's conjecture, because of the men mentioned Amompharetes was the leader of a *λόχος* (Herod. IX, 53-57). It is not likely that in the Spartan army young men of 20 or 21 were given the command of a company as at that age they could be no more than youth-leaders. Moreover, the dead at Plataea evidently were buried in accordance with their social status, not according to ages. Finally, one of the four mentioned by name, Callicrates, is called an *ἀνήρ καλλιστος* by Herodotus (IX, 72) but Xen. *Lac. Resp.* II, 11 shows that in Sparta *ἀνήρ* and *εἰρην* were kept rigorously distinct.

The importance of all these arguments may be questioned. In connection with the last remark it may be argued that Herodotus does not necessarily attach a technical meaning to the word *ἀνήρ*. But my first objection carries most weight and seems irrefutable. Several modern scholars have therefore rejected the conjecture which appears in nearly all editions. There is first of all Diels, who summarized the objections and offered the suggestion that for *Ιρένες* (-ας) should be read *ἱρέες* (-ας). He regards *ἱρης* or *ἱρεύς* as 'eine lakonische Nebenform' of *ἱρως*¹. Untersteiner adopted this version in his edition of the text. I do not believe the alteration to be necessary, although I agree with Diels' view that we are dealing with a ritual custom.

This much however is certain, in Diels' argument also, that the current reading of IX, 85 cannot be maintained. Swoboda succinctly formulated the main objection in these words: 'Der Regimentsführer Amompharetos kann nicht zu den Eirenes gehört haben, unter denen die Tüchtigsten nur

¹ So Diels in a letter to Nilsson (Klio, XIII, 1913, p. 314), now inserted in Martini P. Nilsson, *Opuscula selecta*, vol. II, 1952, p. 870.

an der Spitze von Knabenscharen standen'.¹ But he offered no solution for Valckenaer's problem of the meaning in this passage of the 'priests', neither could he refer to a passage revealing the exceptional position in Sparta of priests in connection with their burial. Even if the problem is admitted, most scholars refrain from tampering with the text still generally printed. Even a critical writer like Wade-Gery when he says: 'Yet the fact remains that Xenophon distinguishes *εἰρήνες* from *ἀνδρεῖς*, *Λαξ.π.* 2, 11, while Herodotus appears to say that the commander of a *Lochos* was an *Eiren*'², does not hit upon the idea that the modern Vulgate of Herodotus might be wrong. The whole question is whether Herodotus actually says this. Valckenaer's cautious suggestion – which he evidently did not want his less critical friend Wesseling to adopt in his edition – is so firmly accepted that in a recent book on Sparta the lemma in the *Lexeis* is quoted as 'Schol. ad Herod. IX, 85 (to explain the meaning of the term *Εἰρήνη*)'.³

The occurrence of this gloss in the *Lexeis* then is no guarantee that *a* the word occurs in IX, 85, *b* the word occurs anywhere else in Herodotus' works. This relieves me of a search in Herodotus' writings for other possibilities of replacing a traditional word by a form of *εἰρήνη*. The context undoubtedly does not permit us to insert the term in the passage under discussion, as this would conflict with the traditional meaning of the term in Xenophon and Plutarch and, *mirabile dictu*, also in the gloss itself, that is if we adopt the version of the gloss in the Strabo manuscript, which states distinctly that after the six years of the *ephebia* the young man in the seventh year is called *εἰρήνη*.

There remains the question which Wesseling worded as follows: 'Qui quaeso illi *ἰερές*, *viri militares*, et pugnando

¹ Busolt-Swoboda, *op. cit.*, II, p. 696, note 3.

² CQ, XXXVIII, 1944, p. 119, note 1.

³ Chrimes, *op. cit.*, p. 86, note 3. Cf. similarly Woodward in *Historia*, I, 1950, p. 617 and Michell, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

mortui, ex disciplina Lacedaemoniorum?'¹. The answer, I believe, is to be found in Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, XXVII, dealing with Spartan funeral rites. Here, as on so many other occasions, Plutarch presents some valuable data on ancient customs such as the laying of the dead on olive leaves (which – following the example of Rohde – is now generally regarded as an archaic lustral rite). As an illustration of Spartan sobriety Plutarch cites the ban on gravestones bearing the name of the departed. There are two exceptions to this prohibition. The text according to the best tradition² is as follows: πλὴν ἀνδρός ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ γυναικός τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποθανόντων, which I would render as: 'except in the case of a man fallen in battle or a woman if they belonged to the *ἱεροί*'³. The *ἱεροί* are the priests, the word indicating both men and women⁴, unless the word should be read *ἱερέων*, which is the genitive of both *ἱερέ(ι)α* and *ἱερέως*.

These priests sometimes were young unmarried men, as for instance at the annual feast of the Carnea (they are called *Καρνεῖται*). As an example of priestesses we may think of the priestess of Artemis Orthia, who carries the image of the goddess during the *διαμαστίγωσις* (Paus. III, 16, 10). S. Wide refers to CIG 1444 (= IG, V, 1, 602) which mentions the priestesses Pomponia and Kallistoneike who in this capacity were in the service of Artemis Orthia διὰ βίου καὶ γένους. Possibly men from certain priestly families inherited this office and held it for life, although I have found no evidence for this as far as the archaic period is concerned⁵, and although Hesychius in connection with the *Karneatai* (s.v.) mentions a four-year term of office.

¹ *Diss. Herodot.*, p. 206.

² See the Appendix.

³ The words τῶν ἱερῶν I take to be a gen. part. depending both on ἀνδρός and on γυναικός.

⁴ Cf. *SIG³ 736* (Andania) on *ἱεροί* and *ἱεραι* in the sense of 'holy men and women'. Also L-S⁵, s.v. *ἱερός* III (5), and Aristophanes *Ran.* 652: ἀνθρωπος, *ἱερός*.

⁵ On later hereditary priesthoods see Chrimes, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

The custom related but not understood by Plutarch should in my opinion be explained as follows. The priest or priestess is an important figure providing a link with the world of the god. His or her grave is marked so that posterity through the *name* might have him or her nearer in its midst¹.

It is worth noticing that Herodotus repeats only four names of Spartan warriors, *viz.* the names of the *ἱρέες*. The reason may be that he read them and so remembered them.

As a man's reputation depended above all on his conduct in battle, it is not sufficient for him to have been a priest. He must have died as a brave soldier if he is to be given the privileged place which the priestess may claim on account of her office. The kings were not so honoured, neither was the privilege granted to all soldiers², as is proved by the epitaph for the Spartans who died at Thermopylae; no names are mentioned. This anonymity also supports our interpretation of the passage in Plutarch. If the words *πλὴν ἀνδρὸς ἐν πολέμῳ* are taken separately, the text has to mean that all fallen soldiers are mentioned by name, which according to historical tradition is not the case. When, however, the words are closely connected with *τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποθανόντων*, they imply that the privilege was not granted to all soldiers, but only to the priests among them. In the custom as recorded here the magic significance of the priest is linked with the magical importance of the brave warrior. It is possible that to have been a priest in life was originally sufficient. This would explain the two additional words *ἐν πολέμῳ* without which the text runs more smoothly but this of course remains uncertain.

Lindskog-Ziegler's edition contains a conjecture by Latte: *πλὴν ἀνδρὸς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ γυναικὸς λεχοῦς ἀποθανόντων*. The

¹ Cf. van der Leeuw, *op. cit.*, p. 129, 168 on the significance of the name as an expression of the power and the will of the individual.

² I do not think that the adjective *ἀρίστημος* conveys that the name of the deceased appeared on his grave. Cf. Tyrt. 9. 29 ff., where not only the warrior is *ἀρίστημος* but also his children are honoured, they too are *ἀρίστημοι*.

two exceptions then are: the soldier fallen in battle and the woman who died in childbirth. I regard this version as unacceptable. I shall not go into the question whether in the sixth century B.C. the name of a woman who died in childbirth appeared on her tomb. A reference to IG. V, 1, 713 is no sufficient evidence. If on the tomb of a woman who died in childbirth a name does appear (*Ath. Mitt.* II, 1877, no. 20: ΑΓΙΙΙΠΙΑ ΛΕΧΟΙ), it is uncertain whether it is her name or that of the consecrating person, although the former seems to be more likely. However, there is no justification for straining Plutarch's text in order to solve the problem of the priests. If one is to be permitted to alter, without justification, τῶν λεφῶν in the textual tradition into λεχοῦς, then, indeed, the fences are down! It also deserves notice that the word λεχώ is never used by Plutarch. The only place where it occurs is a quotation from Chrysippus¹. In conclusion, I believe that this passage in Plutarch meets Valckenaer's demand for evidence that a priest-soldier was accorded a special burial.

It may be asked why men like Valckenaer and Wesseling, the latter of whom quotes the passage in Plut. *Lyc.* XVII about the εἱρην, evidently overlooked the 'priests' in XXVII of the same Life. The answer can be found in the text they used which does not mention the priests. The Leyden library possesses Valckenaer's own copy, with his personal marginal notes, of the edition published in Frankfort in 1599 with the Latin translation by Cruserius and Xylander (the copy later found a place in Scrinierius' library). Just as in the *editio princeps* and in the reprints with the Latin translation of 1620 and 1624, published respectively in Frankfort and

¹ Mor. 1044 F in *De Stoicorum Repugnantiis* 22 (Pohlenz): καὶ τὸ μητράσι τῇ θυγατράσι τῇ ἀδελφαῖς συγγενέσθαι καὶ τὸ φρογεῖν τι τῶν ἀπειρημένων καὶ προελθεῖν απὸ λεχοῦς τῇ θυνάτου πρὸς λεπὸν ἀλόγος διαβέβληται.

'To ban intercourse with mothers, sisters or daughters is absurd, and the same applies to abstain from forbidden foods or to go from a woman in childbirth or from a deceased person to a sanctuary'. —

Cologne, the text runs: πλὴν ἀνθρόπος ἐν πολέμῳ, καὶ γυναικός, τῶν ἵερῶν ἀποθανόντων. It is to be noted however that the *editio princeps* does not place a comma after γυναικός.

The Latin translation gives: 'praeterquam viri qui in bello, et mulieris quae sancte fato concesserat'. The French translation by Jacques Amyot (Cologne, 1617) is as follows: 'sinon d'un homme mort en guerre ou d'une femme religieuse et sacrée' and is evidently based on the version ἵερᾶς (see the Appendix).

If at last we now return to Herodotus, it appears that in the passage about the war record of the four Spartans mentioned (IX, 71 ff.) he does not mention their priesthood. This is not surprising because nowhere in Greece, including Sparta, was the priesthood a function of central importance, at least not in the fifth century B.C. Their sacerdotal office pales before their military achievements.

It may seem strange that precisely these four men mentioned were priests, but it should be remembered that Plutarch's very statement shows that only the names of soldiers who were priests were recorded. There is, therefore, no question of an improbable coincidence that the four men mentioned were also priests. There would be more reason to call their connection with the εἵρετες a coincidence. Kahrstedt indeed attempted to prove that in the field the juniors held the front line but his references are not convincing¹. When youngsters were made to bear the brunt of battle, this usually happened only in the case of swift operations; there is no evidence that such was the case at Plataea. I believe

¹ Neither Thuc. V, 72, 3 nor Xen. *Lac. Resp.*, 11, 5, referred to by Kahrstedt (*Griechisches Staatsrecht*, I, p. 308), give support to this theory. The third passage, Xen. *Hell.*, IV, 6, 10, mentions τὰ πεντεκατάδεκα ἀρ' ἡβῆς, but the term does not include the εἵρετες as a separate group (Cf. Billheimer, *Tά δέκα ἀρ' ἡβῆς*. TAPA, LXXVII, 1946, p. 214-220). It certainly would have been unfair to give the εἵρετες among τὰ πεντεκατάδεκα ἀρ' ἡβῆς more honour than the senior soldiers in this group (20th to 35th year).

therefore that the coincidence of the privilege granted to four *lpeveç* cannot be explained on the ground that the juniors had a better chance of distinguishing themselves because they were in the front line. It is not always the foremost who display most courage and win distinction.

APPENDIX

Readings of Plut. Lyc. XXVII, 3

Lindskog-Ziegler: πλὴν ἀνδρὸς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ γυναικὶς [τῶν] λεχοῦς ἀποθανόντων. These editors gave in their annotation critica: [τῶν] M Steph. λεχοῦς, Latte coll. IG, V, 1, 713: ἵερῶς S ἵερῶς L ἵερᾶς Anon. ἵερειας Br. ἐν ἵερωσύνῃ vel ἵερω-μένης Rei.

With regard to M, Lindskog in the first volume (praef. IX) remarks that the Marcianus depends on S *i.a.* for the Life of Lycurgus: 'et exiguum lucrum ex hac codicis parte capimus' (dated XIVth-XVIth century, Cf. Ziegler, *Überlieferungsgeschichte*, pag. 11 and 15 ff.). In connection with S, Ziegler (praef. p. IV of Vol. III, 2) speaks of a 'codex praestantissimus'. This is the Seitenstettensis dated in the XIth-XIIth century. But to the mutilated Vitae belongs the Life of Lycurgus. Supplements are written in a different hand from the XVth century, 'quae codicem nullius pretii exscripsit' (Lindskog, in praef. pag. VII of Vol. I, 1).

L, a codex Laurentianus of 997, is said to be: 'satis mendose ac neglegenter scriptum' (Ziegler, praef. p. VI of Vol. III, 1; cf. praef. p. III of Vol. III, 2). Errors have been corrected in three handwritings, one dating from the time of the ms. and two from approximately the XIVth century. A whole series of 'librorum vulgarium' has been copied from this codex.

The foregoing leads to the conclusion that in order of their value the three mss. that are of importance for our passage are S, L and M. If this is correct the omission (of τῶν), which seems to occur in M only, can be rejected.

The best tradition of S has ἵερῶν beside ἵερῶς which also occurs in L. The adverb makes no sense: 'dying sacredly'

is an expression which to my knowledge is not found elsewhere. The desire to omit *ἱερῶς* is not surprising. An anonymous writer altered it into *ἱερᾶς*, a holy woman, which might have meant a priestess. Bryan followed this example by suggesting the noun *ἱερεῖας* and so did Reiske, offering a choice from two more extensive readings, *ἐν ιερωσύνῃ* vel *ἱερωμένῃ*. It is not surprising that Reiske looked for a version better adapted to Greek idiom, but neither he nor his predecessors offered a Greek text expressing briefly what they meant to read in the text (*i.e.* 'priestess'). They were deceived by the comma after *ἐν πολέμῳ* which appeared already in the *editio princeps* and looked for an attribute to *γυναικός*.

Ziegler finally broke away from the tyranny of the comma and by linking *ἐν πολέμῳ* with *ἀνδρός*, and *λεχοῦς* with *γυναικός* procured a fitting parallelism.

The measures he adopted were, however, drastic, for although, as appears from inscriptions, the name of a woman who died in childbirth might have appeared on graves, Latte's alteration in the text conflicts with the whole textual tradition. As the best ms., S, also has the reading *ἱερῶν* and as this permits a satisfactory explanation, if connected with Herod. IX, 85, I believe that we should adopt the reading *πλὴν ἀνδρός ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ γυναικός τῶν ιερῶν ἀποθανόντων*.

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